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THE LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC INTERESTS

OF SIR THOMAS ELYOT

With Incidental Chapters on his Cul-  
tural Background and his Relations to  
his Contemporaries and Successors

by

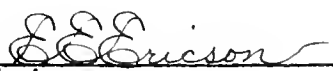
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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the  
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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations of Elyot's works have been used:

- BS.                    The Bankette of Sapience. First edition.
- CH.                    The Castel of Helth. First edition.
- Cyp.                   A Svete and Devoute Sermon of Holy Saynt Ciprian of Mortalitie of Man. First edition.
- DGW.                   The Defence of Good Women. Foster Watson's reprint in his Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women (New York, 1912), pp. 213-239.
- Dict.                   The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot Knyght. First edition.
- DP.                    The Doctrinal of Princes. First edition.
- EC., Educ.            The Education or Bringinge vp of Children. First edition.
- G.                      The Boke Named the Gouvernour. Foster Watson's edition for Everyman's Library, 1907.
- I.                      The Image of Governance. First edition.
- K.                      Of the Knowledeg Whiche Maketh a Wise Man. K. Schroeder's reprint in his Platonismus in der englischen Renaissance vor und bei Thomas Eliot nebst Neudruck von Eliots "Disputacion Platonike" (1533). In Palästra, Vol. 83.
- Pas. the Pl.           Pasquyll the Playne. First edition.
- PD.                    A Preservative Agaynste Deth. First edition.
- R., Rules             The Rules of a Christian Lyfe made by Picus Erle of Mirandula. Dom Wilfrid Raynal's reprint in his edition of Rich. Whytford's Imitatio Christi. London, 1872. pp. 407-413.



## PREFACE

Even while the field of research attracts more and more aspirants, one hears frequently the lament that study is lifeless, that a multiplicity of scholars is attended by a paucity of subjects, that in the process of digging deep into the body and life of our literary culture, students have passed to the side of the richest veins and have either bent their energies to mere surface study or have gone down and beyond into rough, ugly, and unprofitable regions. In the face of such laments and dangers, it is often necessary for a student of English to justify any work which he proposes for the good or for the approval of others, particularly, nowadays, if that work lies outside of strictly literary channels. Certainly as important as ever, and more important than it has been for several centuries, is the question *Why?*, a question that research must answer first of all with regard to its attention to any particular project. The study contained in the following pages provokes just requests for defense, though in the main that defense is not hard to make. A linguistic study of Sir Thomas Elyot, comparatively neg-



lected author of the early sixteenth century, thought of too often not by his own name, as an individual writer of note, but only secondarily as the author of his chief work, will fill one of the gaps that remain to be filled for the thorough understanding of the development of our language in one of its most important stages.

A study of this sort needs no defense to the student undertaking it. For him there is no method of becoming acquainted with linguistic history so profitable as that of studying language intensively in its various phases, and no perusal or rehashing of another's work is so beneficial to him as the breaking of new ground. So much for his personal defense; his other reasons for his choice of subject he shares with those having general literary interests. The importance and attractiveness of the linguistic problems of the early Renaissance are recognized,<sup>1</sup> and Elyot is without a doubt one of the prominent users of the language in that stage. Now, with the publication of several splendid studies of Elyot's predecessor, Caxton, and of two of his contemporaries, More and Tindale, our knowledge of the language of Henry VIII's time has been revised and enlarged. They need to be supplemented by similar investigations into the early English Schriftsprache as repre-

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<sup>1</sup> The state of the language at this period will be touched upon in a general way in Chapters II and VI, pp. 14 and 219.



sented in Elyot, Ascham, and, possibly, Thomas Wilson. But three more important reasons than these exist for a more intensive and comprehensive work on Elyot than we have had. The first of these may be stated in the words of M. Delcourt, substituting (as can be done with right) the name "Elyot" for "More": "Si Chaucer et Shakespeare se trouvent placés dans l'histoire l'un environ un siècle avant, l'autre environ un siècle après l'époque reconnue comme marquant les débuts de l'anglais moderne, More se trouve à ces débuts même."<sup>2</sup> And the next sentence: "Sa grammaire, son vocabulaire, son style, ne peuvent par suite manquer d'être instructifs pour tous ceux que ne laissent pas indifférents l'histoire de l'anglais, et en particulier les origines directes de la langue d'aujourd'hui."<sup>3</sup> In the second place Elyot holds the distinction of being the first to write in English what has frequently been called a treatise on "moral philosophy" but what is more appropriately styled, in the German, a wissenschaftliches work. The third respect in which Elyot is important is twofold: 1) he was interested in language— above all others, of course, in his own tongue, in getting it used, and in raising it to a place of eminence equal to that of any other tongue, ancient or contemporary; 2) al-

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<sup>2</sup> Joseph Delcourt, Essai sur la Langue de Sir Thomas More d'après ses oeuvres anglaises, 1914. Preface, p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Loc. cit.





though he wrote in a style which shared with others the announcement of the English-to-be, his was at the same time a distinctive and elevated prose, interesting for its distinction and elevation. Delcourt, in comparing Elyot and More, has phrased this also well for us: "Elyot est savant et More est populaire; Elyot est relativement sobre et More est facilement diffus; Elyot est toujours sérieux et More n'est jamais plus lui-même que quand il prend son ton bonhomme."<sup>4</sup>

Elyot, per se, is quite worthwhile, and taken in his relation to the period between Caxton and Queen Elizabeth and to all subsequent literature in his language, he can rightly be called one of the founders of Modern English.

The present writer has attempted to build Elyot's language and linguistic interests into a fairly comprehensive panorama of the linguistic situation at the time. Accordingly, this study begins with a brief sketch of Elyot's life, including all the important facts so far established about him, and continues with a review of Renaissance language developments in Italy, France, Germany, and England, through the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It closes with an account of linguistic science and philosophy in the latter half of the same century. Elyot himself is considered first from the standpoint of his preparation,

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<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 310.



his work, and the ideals toward which he strove; then as to vocabulary, in point of volume and variety the most fruitful phase of the study; last as to syntax and style. There are three appendices, two of which are self-explanatory. One of them (Appendix C), however, deserves an advance notice, in that it bears an extremely close and important relation to the chapter on vocabulary (Chapter IV). In the text of that chapter Elyot's vocabulary is analyzed, and ample illustrations from his writing are used to support the resulting generalizations. To incorporate the complete lists of these illustrations in the text would be to increase the bulk of that chapter unreasonably; consequently, these lists are placed in an appendix, where the reader will find them arranged to correspond with the sections of the discussion in Chapter IV. The writer hopes by this arrangement to maintain a more proper proportion among the chapters of the study without thereby doing an injustice to the very important materials in Appendix C.

Two chapters, ordinarily included in linguistic studies, have been omitted— those on phonology and morphology— and their omission calls for some explanation. The language of Elyot's writing is of real significance to the linguistic historian only with regard to the elements of vocabulary, syntax, and style. In the history of linguistic study up to the present time, scholars have covered, more or less completely, the four main phases of the sub-



ject: vocabulary, accidence, syntax and style, and phonology. Of these four, accidence has been most thoroughly studied, for all periods of the English language; and phonology— a branch of linguistic science which arrived somewhat later, as an outgrowth of the nineteenth and twentieth century scientific attitude— has been carried to what, for lack of more tangible and certain evidence, may prove to be its limit. These phases, then, have been amply handled for the period and the individuals of the early Renaissance in England. Moreover, the sixteenth century marked the end of the vast phonological and morphological changes in our language, and the beginning of the additions and improvements in the linguistic resources and methods of manipulation. Vocabulary, syntax, and style, consequently, are the most valuable phases of a linguistic study of Elyot. The first, although it is a very tangible object, has not yet received ample attention for that period with which we are here concerned, a time when annually large accretions to the language were being made. The second, chiefly because of its highly subjective nature, is now the richest field for the labors of the philologist.

With the rise of the London dialect, English sounds and spellings approached a standard the like of which had not been known on the island since the days when literary activity was restricted to the West Saxons; this fact helps more amply to explain the omission from this study of the



chapters on phonology and morphology. To be sure, many changes were to come in pronunciation (sounds), chief of which was the great vowel shift of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. After that came many more gradations. Spelling, too, was to remain long unsettled, but its career was destined to be not nearly so turbulent as that of sounds. The former, constantly working its way out of the maze of Middle English times, was to reach an acknowledged standard late in the sixteenth century or early in the seventeenth. In Elyot's time it was at a mid-way post; it was more regular than in Middle English, but still puzzlingly unsettled. Elyot himself, in the Preface to his Dictionary (1538), apologized "for as moche as by haste made in printyng, some letters may happen to lacke, some to be sette in wronge places, or the ortography nat to be truely obserued." It is remarkable that he should even imply a true orthography, for if any such thing existed it seems only fair to expect him and his contemporaries to practice it. His spelling exhibits all the inconsistencies of that shifting period.

There is still some work to be done on the question of sounds in the sixteenth century, but the orthography of the period, an objective and tangible item, is known. Now, although a continuation of the work of eminent scholars like Wyld and Zachrisson along this line depends always on orthography (the written record), simple and in combina-





tions such as rimes, that work is of a broadly comparative nature involving many writers over a period of many years. As such it extends far beyond the bounds of this paper on Elyot. As for him, the now-accepted rules and exceptions of English orthography for the sixteenth century— hence, also, of sounds, as far as they can be determined from prose— apply to his writing with no notable variations or contributions.

To become acquainted with these rules one has only to turn to that long valuable book of A.J.Ellis on Early English Pronunciation, Chaucer Society, XII; that of R.E. Zachrisson on Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700, Göteborg, 1913; that of O. Jespersen on John Hart's Pronunciation of English (1569 and 1570), Heidelberg, 1907, or his Growth and Structure of the English Language, 4th edition, New York, 1929; that of E. Rudolf on Die englische Orthographie von Caxton bis Shakespeare, Diss. Marburg, 1904; that of J. Wille on Die Orthographie in Roger Aschams Toxophilus und Scholemaster, Diss. Marburg, 1889; or those many others which are to be found in the bibliographies of our numerous histories of the English language.

At the present stage of investigation along this line, the general opinion is that for all intents and purposes English spelling has been at a standstill since the fifteenth century. In 1912 Lindelöf devoted several pages of conclusions to an expansion of this theme. After Old English spelling traditions passed away, he found, the spel-



ling became principally phonetic. But there began at that time conservative tendencies which prevented the orthography from keeping pace with the pronunciation; so that our spelling now is not a reflection of modern but of late medieval pronunciation. Germany has not been thus delinquent; she has introduced diphthongs for the older long vowels they have replaced, and in other points kept her writing up with her speech. Not so in English, where i represents the ai sound and e, ee, ea, ie, ei represent the continental [i] sound. This unphonetic character of English was obvious enough as early as the sixteenth century, and from the middle of that century to the present day there have been numerous attempts to reform our spelling. They have all come to naught. Severe difficulties are in the way of such reform. A partial reform would bring a result more confusing than the present condition; a complete one would so sever our connection with our own past as to make the changes unthinkable.<sup>5</sup>

The same opinion is held by Wyld, a more recent writer: "The discrepancy which exists at the present time between sound and symbol in English is due to the fact that the spelling was practically fixed, in all its essential features, by Caxton and the early printers, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Caxton's spelling is

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<sup>5</sup> U.L. Lindelöf, Grundzüge der Geschichte der englischen Sprache, pp. 98-9.



virtually that of late M.E. He introduces no new spellings to indicate the sound changes which had already come about since the typical Central M.E. period. And yet, as we shall see, many important changes in vowel sounds must have been well established in Caxton's time: e.g. the fronting of M.E. ā, the raising of ē, the raising and over-rounding of old tense ō to [ū].<sup>6</sup> Then, mentioning, as Lindelöf did, the numerous attempts that have been made toward reform, he concludes that "Probably no one really wants English spelling 'reformed' for ordinary purposes, except a handful of faddists, and most of these have systems of their own which they are anxious to float."<sup>7</sup> Over against the "ordinary purposes" he places "scientific purposes", for which systematic phonetic symbols are necessary.

The short of all this is that Elyot's writing contributes nothing to the history of sounds (there is a bare possibility that it would if one went beyond the limits of this work and made a broadly comparative study); that the orthography of his period is known and that he— not being primarily interested in that phase of linguistic development— made no innovations in it. There is no better instance of the slightness of Elyot's interest in orthography than that, by the inconsistent use of c or t in words from the Latin which now regularly end in -tion, even he, a Lati-

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<sup>6</sup> H.C.Wyld, A Short History of English, 5th ed., 1926. pp. 127-8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 130.



nist, showed himself indifferent toward the most important of all spelling efforts of the time, that of re-Latinizing words borrowed earlier in the French form. The reader will find a representative list of the orthographical phenomena in Elyot, with illustrations, in Appendix B of this study. This list affords sufficient support for the omission of the chapter on this phase of the subject.

If orthography in Elyot is an unfruitful subject for study, morphology is more so. Only a few matters of form are noticeable.

Though his language is predominantly Southern English, plurals and preterites in the Northern -is and -id respectively occur occasionally (adherentis, G. I.ii.7; ponderid, K. 89). The third person singular present indicative is -eth. This Southern form occurs so frequently in the Knowledge, as compared with the Gouvernour, that one is at first inclined to see in its use a deliberate striving after quaintness in the Platonic dialogue. That is the usual ending, however; its prominence in the Knowledge is due rather to the fact that the present tense occurs comparatively seldom in the Gouvernour, except of the verb to be.

The genitive is formed, in the singular and in the plural, with -s or -es: mans, mens, chrystes. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the sign is always





simple s, for wherever e appears it is very likely the silent final e of the uninflected form.

As to pronouns, his is genitive neuter of the third personal pronoun. Eueryche is used absolutely (i.e. without the addition of the "one", which was added in Middle English and is today necessary to the idiom), as in "eueryche of theym" (CH. fol. 66b). Self, originally added to personal pronouns to make them reflexive, stands alone for the compound pronoun in "the thyng selfe" (K. 39). Personal pronouns, in their simple form, are used reflexively with verbs, as in "dooe endeuour theim to be founden" (Dict., 1545, Pref.).

Double comparatives and double superlatives are numerous: "more larger" (G. III.ix.229), "they fetche bloud more deper" (CH. fol. 63a); "moste soneste" (G. III.xv. 242), "the moste easiste way" (G. I.xix.85), "most hottest feuers" (CH. fol. 78b). The old comparative form of near survives in nere (DP. Pref.). More is used absolutely as an adjective occasionally: "rendreth to their wittes a more sharpenesse" (Dict., 1545, Pref.).

Any thinge serves as an adverb, in the sense of "at all", at G. II.xii.168. Agayne— in the modern language against, which form Elyot himself uses twice in Cyp. Pref.— was still good as a preposition in the sixteenth century, for Elyot says "Scipio faught agayne the Cimbres." (G. I. xvii.76).



Ben is the present infinitive of to be (see Dict. Pref., or Cyp. Pref.). There is the impersonal use of liketh at G. I.i.4. Finally, the past participle, particularly of verbs formed from the past participle of the Latin first conjugation, is often identical with the present infinitive in form: fatigate, understand (from the participial form which the language has dropped), constitute, distract, dedicate, masticate, etc., to quite a long list. Sometimes, as in elected (G. I.ii.10), the modern form analogous to the weak preterite appears in Elyot.

In his conclusion on the origin and growth of the English literary language, Wyld expresses compendiously the present-day opinion: "The differences that we remark between the English of to-day and that of Hoccleve and Lydgate, of Pecock and Caxton, of Skelton and Lord Berners, of Tyndale and Sir Thomas More, of Surrey, Wyatt, and Elyot, of Udall, Sackville, Ascham, Latimer, Lyly, and their contemporaries, are very largely differences of structure and phrase, quaintnesses and archaisms of word and expression rather than vital disparities of dialect. The language of Caxton and his immediate followers is, to all intents and purposes, the ancestor of our present English, apart from the scattered and isolated differences to which reference has been made."

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8 Op. cit., p. 231.



The varieties that existed in fifteenth— and even as late as sixteenth— century English are in the scattered forms and not in whole classes of words or grammatical categories. The mechanics of Elyot's language are the mechanics of the language of his contemporaries, and are not remarkably at variance with the mechanics of our own English.

The writer hopes that the virtues of comprehensiveness and coordination are to be found in the following pages. Much of the treatment of the subject is, of course, analytic, but it is intended to be as synthetic as intensiveness allows. We have at hand what may be called broad treatments of our period and of our author. The performance of such reasonably analytical work as the following purposes to be will lead to a general treatment, one of breadth as well as of genuine synthesis.

Many people have, by inspiration, suggestion, and actual work, helped the writer to reach this stage in his study of the English language and literature. His chief gratitude, however, goes to Professor E. E. Ericson for his broad view of the relation between language and life, his intelligent instruction in the development of our language, and, specifically, his wise and patient direction of this particular study. The writer is also greatly indebted to Miss Georgia Faison, Refer-



ence Librarian at the University of North Carolina,  
whose great willingness and industry has placed in his  
hands many books which it would have been extremely  
difficult for him to get without her aid.

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## CHAPTER I

### Sir Thomas Elyot's Life

Thomas Elyot is unfortunately in need of biographers. The facts of Caxton's life have a number of times been investigated and recorded; one has in any fairly equipped library easy access to biographies of Erasmus, More, Tyndale, and Fisher; and the lives of many of the humanists have been touched upon repeatedly. On the other hand, the facts about Elyot's life are few, and with the exception of a few details have not been thoroughly investigated beyond what such works as those of Bale, Wood, Cooper, Strype, Fuller, and the State Papers contain. The Dictionary of National Biography (Sidney Lee), the Cambridge History of English Literature (T. M. Lindsay), and the Encyclopedia Britannica have restated briefly the details gathered from these sources. The most thorough work on this matter was done by H.H. S. Croft in his edition of the Gouverneur in 1880; that review, supplemented in a few instances by details from other notices (only one biographical note of interest has appeared since Croft's work was published), forms the basis of the following account.



Thomas Elyot's life begins and ends about equidistant from the first printing in England and the publication of Tottel's Miscellany (or the accession of Queen Elizabeth), generally accepted as the beginning of the Elizabethan or Renaissance period of English literature. The date of his birth was 1490 or before. This date is arrived at by the fact that in 1511, while his father was justice, he accompanied the latter on a tour of the Western Circuit in the capacity of Clark of Assize, a position which he could not have filled as a minor. About all we know of his extraction is that he was of a knightly family, being the only son of Sir Richard Elyot by the latter's first wife, Alice Fynderne. Thomas had no children, and so far as we know his family has become extinct and forgotten.<sup>1</sup> Though the general locality of his birth is agreed upon, its exact place is as yet unknown, the doubt in the matter being due to the absence of records and to the fact that the family property was scattered over several counties. There have been conjectures that Wiltshire (DNB, and Chambers' Cyclopedia), Suffolk (Wood and Fuller, both

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1. In 1834 one A. T. Elyot, of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, issued an edition of the Gouverneur (Printed by and for John Hermaman and Ridgway and sons, Piccadilly, London.), which, from the tone of the Dedication and Preface, was apparently done out of family sentiment.



admitting the doubtfulness of the tradition in the phrases "as said" and "some say", respectively), or Devonshire (Henry Barnard's American Journal of Education, Vol. XLIV, 1886, pp. 483-96) was the birthplace. Cooper (in his Athenae Cantabrigienses) thought it was more likely that Elyot was born in Wiltshire. And it is possibly so, for Sir Richard Elyot held large estates in Wiltshire,<sup>2</sup> and, in addition, some lands in Oxfordshire. Thomas' connection with Cambridge (and hence with Suffolk?) came by his inheritance through his mother.

Assuming 1490 as the date and Wiltshire as the place of his birth, we next face the question of what Elyot was doing during those years before we actually meet him for the first time, as a grown man. Wood claimed him as twice an alumnus of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, contending that he entered in 1514 and received the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Civil Law in 1518 and 1524; Bliss (in his amendment to Wood's account) and Cooper claimed him for Jesus College, Cambridge. All these claims are unsupported; the most substantial information we have is Elyot's own assertions that he was

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2. He was made serjeant-at-law and attorney-general to the queen consort in 1503, justice of assize soon afterward, and judge of common pleas in 1513.



self-educated, that he read widely. At an early age he had had a good knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Italian. It is usually assumed that somewhere he came into contact with the learned Linacre, those who think so taking as their evidence a sentence from the Proheme of the third edition (1541) of the Castel of Helth: "For before that I was twentie yeres olde, a woorshipfull physicion, and one of the moste renowned at that time in England, perceiuyng me by nature enclyned to knowlage, radde unto me the workes of Galene of temperamentes, naturall facultees, the introduction of Johannicius, with some of the Aphorismes of Hippocrates." Immediately following this passage Elyot mentions a list of medical authors whom he afterwards read on his own initiative. All the facts in the case -- the absence of proof that he was a university man, his own statements about his early interests and education, and the habits of study which he practiced throughout his life -- lead us to believe that his instruction was self-given.

Beginning in 1511 the records give us more definite material for a life of Elyot. The position of Clerk of Assize, attained in that year, was held until 1528. In 1522 his father died, and he inherited the property. In 1523 fortune twice smiled upon him, when after his inheritance of his cousin, Thomas Fynderne's Cambridge





estates had been disputed, Wolsey decided in his favor and besides appointed him clerk of the privy council. He was made sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire in 1527, the first of a number of appointments to that position (for various counties) which he was to receive during the next twenty years. About this time, also, we have in a letter to Cromwell (dated March 25, 1527-8) the first indications of an intimacy — whether more than a business relation we do not know — between these two public figures of those hectic times. In 1528, as we have noticed, Elyot ceased to be Clerk of Assize, and in 1530 he was displaced from the privy council. In this year he served on an inquiry concerning the Cambridge estates of his former patron, Cardinal Wolsey, and, apparently as compensation for the displacement just mentioned, he was knighted in the same year. It is fairly certain, however, that he was neither distressed over the loss of his seat nor delighted over the compensation. He had written to Cromwell<sup>3</sup> in complaint that the emoluments of his office in the king's service had not been forthcoming, and knighthood, a barren honor, only put him to further expense. His ownership of property and his interest in letters were winning for him op-

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3. See Croft's Gouverneur, pp. lviii and lxxi-xci.



portunities to serve his state in capacities resulting from the former only. Public affairs were obviously distasteful, though it is quite possible that the distaste sprang not so much from a genuine averseness to the duties involved as from the restrictions they placed upon literary enterprise of any sort. Elyot must have been continuing throughout the twenties his reading, and seeking always the leisure and material means of gratifying his chief interests. Elyot in no way demonstrated the burning enthusiasm for letters that usually drives a person to the work against all odds; yet for him there was a higher public service in the freeing and enlightening of the minds of his countrymen.

We have arrived now at a point (1531) within sixteen years of his death, and at the beginning of his most active and fruitful period. During these last years his energies were expended in two types of work: increased public service, both local and foreign; and the business of writing and translation.

As to his local appointments, we find his name frequently in the lists of sheriffs found in the State Papers of Henry VIII; he was sheriff of Oxford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. In 1542 he represented Cambridgeshire in Parliament. These local offices are relatively insignificant, however, during this period when Elyot was engaged in international diplomatic service. More-



over, concerning the latter there is uncertainty and debate; in fact, scholars are now sure of only one embassy. The publication in 1531 of the Gouverneur, a book directing, in the favorite sixteenth-century fashion, the education of rulers, won popularity for him and advancement in the king's favor. Later in the year he was sent to the Low Countries on a double commission: to win the favorable attitude of Emperor Charles V toward Henry VIII's plan for divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and to assist Stephen Vaughan in the apprehension of William Tyndale. No brilliant success attended either of these commissions, his failure being usually attributed to his lukewarmness. There is, of course, good reason to accept that as the explanation, for back at home he was a friend of Sir Thomas More<sup>4</sup>, and, therefore, very possibly not in favor of Henry's policies, and it was only by maneuverings<sup>5</sup> not at all creditable

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4. We have no primary evidence of their intimacy; that is, no communication between them has been preserved, and neither of them says anything in his writings of value in this connection. William Roper's life of More, Elyot's few remaining letters, the accounts of their closely related offices in the State Papers, and Stapleton's (Vita Thomae Mori, referred to in the Encyclopedia Britannica account of Elyot) description of Margaret Barrow, Elyot's wife, as a student of the "school" of More form the sum of the evidence of the friendship and common views of these two men.

5. See particularly the letter to Cromwell discussed on p.10 below, and quoted in Appendix C, pp. 303-4.



to his character that he escaped the fate of that Lord Chancellor. At any rate, the mission was one which netted him no gain in political standing, while at the same time it brought chiefly expense and little pay for him. He returned home in March, 1532. It was long believed that Elyot served on an embassy to Rome in the same year, 1532, the purpose of which was to continue diplomatic negotiations concerning the divorce, but that story is regarded now as unauthoritative, since it "rests upon a late endorsement of instructions dated from that year".<sup>6</sup> It has also long been thought that he returned to the Court of Charles V in 1534-5, following the Emperor that time into Italy and Africa. William Roper seems to have been the originator of this detail, relating in his Life of More that Charles informed Elyot of the execution of More and that Elyot communicated to his friends back at home Charles's re-<sup>7</sup>gret over the loss. This story, bearing in the light<sup>8</sup> of all the circumstances so much credibility, has been

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6. See the Encyclopedia Britannica under "Elyot" and Croft, p. xci ff.

7. It is to be remembered in the More-Elyot connection that Roper, here counted among Elyot's close friends, was More's son-in-law.

8. His bibliography and dates of publication support the story of a second embassy. In 1531 the Gouverneur appeared; in 1532 nothing; in 1533 and 1534 seven items; in 1535 only two short pieces of translation, published in one volume; in 1536 he began the Diction-ary, but nothing else was published until this last work appeared in 1538.





accepted in recent times by Croft, the DNB, and the Encyclopedia Britannica.<sup>9</sup> As late as 1930, however, A.F. Pollard contributes a brief note to the effect that the 1532 embassy to Charles V was Elyot's last, and that, besides, Roper's account of the interview between the emperor and Elyot is false, since the latter left the former's court for all time in March, 1532, before More had even resigned his Lord Chancellorship. In that state rests this particular bit of Elyot's biography.

In the meantime religion and politics were playing a considerable role in shaping the course of Elyot's life. It is difficult to ascertain just what his stand was. Although he was sympathetic with More and therefore opposed to King Henry's divorce proceedings, his failure in the commission to find Tyndale makes him appear to be favorable to the Protestants. It is likely that the latter supposition is the less important of the two, because, having half-heartedly accepted the major commission of that journey to the continent and having experienced an extreme lack of support from King Henry, he was in no mood to be over-industrious in carrying out a minor charge.

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9. See TLS, July 17, 1930, p. 592.



After all, he seems to have desired above all else to save his head. His attachment to More undoubtedly operated strongly against his advancement and against his getting himself entirely clear of suspicion for a few years — until possibly 1535 or 1536. He denied Catholic leaning without hesitation. In 1532 Cromwell wrote to Elyot, requesting that he send in any seditious books that he might possess, especially those favoring the Bishop of Rome. In prompt reply Elyot declared for the reformation of the clergy,<sup>10</sup> and, offering the excuse that he was sick at the time, promised to forward to Cromwell in a few days the Papist books he had. Continuing in the same letter, he admitted his friendship with More but assured Cromwell that at the time of writing he was quite out of accord with any former friends of his who were opposed to the king.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout these years Elyot was beginning to accomplish his principal aim. His first and most important work was the Boke Named the Gouvernour (1531), a treatise of instruction on the favorite sixteenth-century subject,

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10. He was a commissioner in Cromwell's inquiry prior to the suppression of the monasteries, but did not share in the spoils — see the Encyclopedia Britannica under "Elyot" and Croft p. cxv ff.

11. This letter may be found in the Appendix to this study, p. 303.



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the education of princes. Two years later the Renaissance interest in books of wisdom and in the subject of flattery was manifested in Of the Knowledge which maketh a Wise Man (1533) and Pasquyll the Playne (1533). The next year The Castel of Helth (1534), a popular treatment of the subject of medicine, based on the writings of the Greek physicians, appeared. In the same year were published the Doctrinal of Princes (1534); The Bankette of Sapience (1534), a Platonic disputation, and a collection of moral sayings; and two of his three religious pieces, A Swete and Devoute Sermon of Holy Saynt Ciprian of Mortalitie of Man and the Rules of a Christian Life, from Pico della Mirandola, (1534). The following year three books were published, The Education or Bringing up of Children (c. 1535 — Croft dates this "before 1540") translation from Plutarche, and The Maner to Chose and Cherysshe a Frende (1535) and Howe one man take

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12. This book is modeled on the type in general and on Erasmus' (Institutii Principis Christiani), Pontano (De Principe), and Francesco Patrizi (De Regno et Regis Institutione) in particular. Elyot is particularly indebted to Patrizi. In this connection Croft says (Preface, pp. lxxv-lxxvi): Beside the similarity in plan, "the identity of some particular passages is now so clearly established, that we may fairly conclude that Elyot had made himself well acquainted with the contents of Patrizi's book, published, as we have seen, about twelve years earlier, and of which he probably possessed a copy. It is curious, however, that whilst on the one hand he refers in express terms to the Institutio Principis Christiani of Erasmus, which supplied him, amongst other things with materials for his Seven Articles, and



Profite of his Enymes (1535) — Croft says these last two are of uncertain date and authorship. More important than any single item except the Gouvernour is the Dictionary (1538), the first real "dictionary", in our sense, of the English language. In 1540 came the Image of Gouvernaunce, professed to be a translation from a Greek manuscript, also the Defence of Good Women. Then five years later was published the Preservative agaynste Deth (1545 — Croft says: "1544 or after"), containing many quotations from holy men. Ascham (Toxophilus) mentions Elyot as having in hand in 1544 a De Rebus Memorabilibus Angliae, which is, however, still unfound and unknown.

We do not know that Elyot was in bad health or was contemplating the end, when he wrote and published in 1545 the simple little sermon, A Preservative against Deth. Nevertheless, he had at that time only a year to live. He died March 26, 1546, on the manor of Carleton in Cambridgeshire, which he had bought from Cromwell, and was buried there. Wood records that soon after his death a monument was placed above his grave. If it was, it has disappeared since, and the exact spot of Elyot's burial is forgotten.

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(12 continued) on the other acknowledges his obligation to Pontano, from whom also he borrowed largely, Elyot makes no allusions whatever to Patrizi."





Elyot is not mentioned by his contemporaries except for one reference by Leland (Itinerary, See Chapter VI, p.250). His family connections have become extinct, and, in Croft's words, " as the first rivulets are swallowed up later by the flood, so his works were swallowed up by the floods later on in the new learning movement."<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, Elyot must have been an interesting character, judging from his position in the state and the popularity of his books. He was enough at leisure to apply himself to the cultural problems of his country. England inherited the tangible results of his labors and, above all, his spirit.

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13 Op. cit., Preface, p. xxi.



## CHAPTER II

### The Linguistic World of Sir Thomas Elyot

Before we can proceed to an analysis of Elyot's language and linguistic interests, we must first of all orient ourselves; we must understand reasonably well the influences at work on him and out of those, as it were, discover the goal which he set for himself and for the culture of which he was a part. Elyot was only one person in a country of people with increasing interest, enthusiasm, and activity; and England was but one country in a whole continent of re-awakening people. The background, then, against which we must view our subject includes several countries and in a sense at least two centuries.

#### I

More than half a century before Chaucer was writing his poems, in a language destined to become the instrument of one of the world's greatest literatures, Dante turned his hand in a definite and critical fashion to the problem of his mother tongue. At the end of the thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth, most of the vernacular languages of Europe were just



at the end of a relatively unprogressive period of their history. At this point Italian literature flowered in Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. England, to be sure, had her Chaucer, but in Dante, we find a phenomenon not paralleled in England until the arrival of Dryden: the greatest creative writer of a whole period of European literature turning to criticism. Professor George Saintsbury has called his De Vulgari Eloquentia the most important critical document between Longinus and the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Although Boccaccio and Petrarch do not contribute anything of a critical nature on the rise of the vernacular, they both added a tremendous impetus to that movement.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Dante's remarks are particularly enlightening on this stage of the Italian tongue.

Dante broke away only gradually from the hold that Latin had on him and on the whole learned world. We read in the Vita Nuova (Chapter 25) that only love should be treated in the volgare, that concession being made only in order that women might read and understand. While composing the Convivio he was still unwilling to give up one jot or tittle of his contention for the greater nobility of Latin over the verna-

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1 History of Criticism, Vol. I, bk. iii, ch. ii.

2 Petrarch gave his preference decidedly to Latin, but the tricks of fate have left only his Italian works to posterity.



cular. Nevertheless, during these very times he was discussing some of the most significant matters in Italian, and by 1305<sup>3</sup> he had not only written as much as we have of his defense of Italian, but in De Vulgari Eloquentia he had also added arms and virtue to love as subjects fit for that language and had reversed his position by proclaiming the vernacular more noble than Latin. That this treatise was itself written in the classical language is due solely to the circumstance that he was addressing the opponents of the vernaculars, and hence had to reach them through their own medium.

He starts with the origin of language, finding Hebrew the speech of Adam and Eve, attributes the confusion and dispersion of tongues to the tower of Babel, groups the Romance idioms as one of the three European families, and divides that family by the conventional symbols, oc, oil, and si — Provencal, French, and Italian, respectively. Then he takes up the dialects, which are due, he says, to "the change to which all human things are subjected".<sup>4</sup> Such a difficulty as dialects presented the need for a universal language, and it was to meet this need that the Grammatica (Latin)

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<sup>3</sup> For the data by which this date is arrived at, see Adolf Gaspary's Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur, 1885, Vol. I, pp. 262-3.

<sup>4</sup> De Vulgari Eloquentia (ed. 1897), p. 384-5.





was invented. It was Dante's view, then, that the vernaculars were products of nature, and Latin was a later invention;<sup>5</sup> that while the vulgar speech was from nature, grammar, or Latin, was the result of study. Of the Romance languages he seems to prefer Italian, as being the closest of the group to the language of grammar and as the organ of the most perfect lyrical poetry. In Italy itself, however, he finds fourteen principal dialects (vulgaria), to no one of which he allows the position of honor; especially does he inveigh against the Tuscans, chiefly because they, though writing and speaking more faultily than the rest, dared to boast of their speech. From various districts of the country he patched together traces of the higher volgare that he sought, and on the existence of such traces built up his famous doctrine of a national language. Of course, in the end Dante attached himself mainly to the Tuscan dialect; moreover, he satisfied himself with considering dialects as corruptions of universals and accepting universals as real, and did not attempt to go further than that and inquire into the source of his accepted universal language. Dante

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5 Cf. Mulcaster's view that every language begins lowly and must be refined by men to a position of respect. (Elementarie, Chapters xii and xxiii).



gave the last chapters of what he completed to describing this language as the vulgare illustre, cardinale, aulicum, and curiale, and to explaining its application to the forms of literature.

Though Dante finished only one book and thirteen and half chapters of the second, the De Vulgari Eloquentia was intended to comprise four books. Several times he promises a work of this length; see especially Book II, Chapter iv, lines 7-13: "Et quod huc usque casualiter est assumptum, illius artis ergasterium reseremus, modum ballatarum et sonituum omittentes, quia illum elucidare intendimus in quarto huius operis, cum de mediocri vulgare tractabimus." The treatise was to be a comprehensive one of the whole vulgar tongue rather than a mere poetica, as its incompleteness has led some to believe. Taking up the vulgar illustré first, the author promises to touch on every level down to the speech proper to one family only. "Quod vulgare locutionem appellamus eam," he writes, "qua infantes adsuefiunt ab adsistentibus, cum primitus distinguere voces incipiunt: vel quod brevius dici potest, vulgarem locutionem asserimus, quam sine omni regula nutricem imitantes accipimus."<sup>6</sup>

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6 Op. cit., Book I, Chapter i, ll. 21-27.



Dante made errors, we know, errors attributable to the beliefs of his contemporaries. Yet he was bold: "He was the first among his countrymen to put a conscious theory in the place of the irregular use of the Vulgare; his little book contains the first actually scientific treatment of the Italian language, and it is at the same time the first example of a regular Ars Poetica for any vulgar tongue, after the manner of those that had previously been compiled for Latin only."<sup>7</sup>

Unlike Chaucer in England, Dante (and his successors, Boccaccio and Petrarch) was almost immediately followed by a live, active enthusiasm for the rise of the language he had immortalized. The Renaissance was coming on, and if we today are thrown into such ecstasies as we are over each new discovery of the world about us and of ourselves, fifteenth-century Italians and sixteenth-century Frenchmen and Englishmen must have found it practically impossible to believe the yearly advances and changes that the human race was bringing about. Geographical discovery after discovery was made, the conception of human dignity and breadth was undergoing a rapid elevation, and num-

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<sup>7</sup> Adolf Gaspar, op. cit., p. 259. This English quotation is taken from Herman Oelsner's translation (see bibliography).



erous cloisters were unlocking their storehouses of classical culture. This "Renaissance" wrought two conflicting effects on language in every country it reached. Since it was essentially a rebirth of classical learning, it brought with it a new glorification of Latin and Greek, and a concomitant movement to readopt them — particularly the Latin — as the instruments of expression for science and letters. Once again Latin was the language of the literary elite, and the "vulgar" tongues were deemed unworthy. But the inevitable conflict arose at this point: the inhabitants of the affected countries had moved away in large part from Latin; habit and a feeling of national pride had generated a respect for and satisfaction with the mother tongues. Now the "Renaissance", if it was to mean anything in the fifteenth century, had to reach a large percentage of what earlier would have been derisively called the "people". In the words of the Frenchman, Villey, the learned (versus the unlearned) had formed a kind of "mandarisme international", but the work of the Renaissance was not to be complete "que le jour où elle aurait vulgarisé les trésors de l'antiquité, où elle les aurait mis à la portée de tous."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Pierre Villey, Les Sources Italiennes de la "Deffense et Illustration de la langue Francoise" de





Italy's progress along this line was very rapid. There were three reasons: 1) although in Italy one found the purest Ciceronian and the strongest attempt to Latinize, yet for that very reason, by an equal reaction, the masses were more sudden and active in demanding a share in the treasures of the learned; 2) the Renaissance seized Italy more completely than it did the other countries of Europe; and 3) society, that is, the spirit of society, was more highly developed in Italy than in France, Germany, or England. The last of these three reasons is based on the participation of women in learning, on the part that salons and academies played in lending dignity to cultural activities (L'Académie de Sienne first<sup>9</sup> proposed the question of Italian orthography).

For years the enthusiasts for the vernacular based their construction of an Italian language on the Tuscan dialect, used by Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. Three such masters and models threw a weight into the balance that it was difficult to counteract. Such a situation did not exist elsewhere. England had her

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( 8 continued) Joachim du Bellay, 1908, p. viii. The following review of the Italian linguistic developments is taken, in the main, from the introduction to this book.

9 Cà. 1515.



Chaucer and in France Du Bellay later praised Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, but the latter were in no way to be compared with the Italian trio, and the former, even if he be placed on a level with any one of them, was only one against three, in a country not so immediately anxious for the future of its speech as Italy. As a result of such influences Italian was already well advanced by the end of the fifteenth century, not only in translations of ancient documents, but in original works as well.

So far this discussion has wrongly implied that the conquest of the vernacular in Italy was very easy. In some respects it was, but the question of dialect recurrently presented itself as a stumbling block; it is not by any means safe to assert that it is even now finally answered. The struggle has been a long and hard one. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it involved many names and many publications.

First of importance chronologically was Leone Battista Alberti (b. 1404). He was a humanist, received an education in the ancient (classic) cultures, and wrote in Latin in all the genres of literature. A Florentine, he escaped the spirit of caste, enriched the literature of the vulgar tongue with the experience and art of the ancients, and helped to destroy

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the hard-set distinction between the learned and the unlearned. Technical works (for specialists only) continued to come from his pen in Latin, but the decade 1440-50 saw the publication of important books on moral, universal matters in the vulgate, works which provoked a storm of protest and to which he replied in an out-and-out defense of the vulgar Italian. His wide learning gained for him the admiration of even the humanists, who in the nature of their endeavors opposed him, and his influence was thus greatly enhanced. Immediately he was imitated; Matteo Palmieri and others did dialogues after his model. In 1441 he organized a concourse in the vernacular, proposing a moral subject: Della Vera Amicizia. His thesis was a very simple one: it was necessary to put into the language of the people all questions which were of interest to them, and if that language seemed insufficient it was only because it was not used — it would be rendered perfectly fit when scholars lent their efforts to practicing and polishing it (" . . . se i dotti la vorranno molto con suo studio e vigilie<sup>10</sup> essere elimata e pulita").

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<sup>10</sup> Alberti, Opere vulgari, 1825, pt. II, p. 221. See Villey, op. cit., pp. xv and xvi. All the following quotations from Lorenzo's Comments are taken from Villey's Preface, pp. xviii, xix, and xx.



After Alberti came Lorenzo de' Medici, who favored the Tuscan dialect and set up Petrarch as the chief example to the innovators. He wrote Tuscan verse in imitation of antiquity, the influence of the ancients always showing through his vernacular. More important than this, however, was his *Commento di Lorenzo de' Medici sopra alcuni de' suoi sonnetti*, (appended to his *Poesie Volgare*, Venice, 1554), in which he defended Italian against its attackers. In his estimation two essential characteristics established the worth of a language: its copiousness and its elegance. How does Italian meet those two requirements, he asks, and then answers: "There is no better means of reaching an opinion than experience. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, our Florentine poets, have clearly enough shown in their works that it is possible to express anything in that language. Whoever reads the *Comedy* of Dante will find much of a theological and philosophical nature expressed with great skill and ease. He will find also, very well adapted to the medium, all three *genres* of style, which are praised by writers: the mean, the mediocre, and the elevated."<sup>11</sup> In the

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<sup>11</sup> "Nessuna miglior ragione si può introdurre, che la esperienza, Dante, il Petrarca, il Boccaccio, nostri poeti fiorentini, hanno ne' gravi et dolcissimi versi et orationi loro mostro assai chiaramente, con molta facilità potersi in questa lingua esprimere ogni senso, perche chi legge la Comedia di Dante, vi tro-





love poems of Petrarch there is more value and charm than in Ovid, Tibullus, Catullus, or any Latin poet. In prose, that splendid Baccaccio takes a place unique in the world. If we examine his Decameron "We will conclude that men and their exercises are more often unworthy of the language than the language is unworthy of the men and their subjects."<sup>12</sup> Those qualities proper to any language are to be found in the Italian. Finally (and here we hear the note of nationality so often sounded throughout the fight for the vernacular), Lorenzo claims a perfect right to use that language in which he was born and reared, especially since "Latin and Hebrew were in their time entirely maternal and natural."<sup>13</sup>

The cause of the vulgar poesy was definitely won with the appearance of the Morgante of Pulci, and the Rime and Stanze per la giostra of Politian. Sannazor

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(11 continued) verà molte cose theologiche et naturali essere con gran destrezza et facilita espresse. Troverà ancora molto attamente nel scrivere suo quelle tre generationi di stili, che sono da gli oratori laudati, cioè humile, mediocre et alto."

12 "però concluderemo più tosto essere mancati alla lingua gli huomini et la essercitatione, che la lingua a gli huomini et alla materia."

13 ". . . massime perche et la Ebreà et la Latina erano nel tempo loro tutte materne et naturali."



and Ariosto wrote some verse in Latin; their fame has come to them, however, not from their humanistic works but from their Italian poems, the Arcadia (1504) and the Orlando Furioso (1516), respectively.

Victory in the realm of poesy was followed shortly by victory in history. Alberti had given small place to it, but his successor, Matteo Palmieri, had attained prominence in this field in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Machiavelli wrote in both genres in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and Guichardin (1483-1540) continued the use of the vernacular. In science progress was as usual slow; some books were appearing in the vernacular, but in general science <sup>e</sup>held to Latin. Thus, a summary of the situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century shows, without speaking of comedy, that most of the original works in poesy, history, morals, and politics were in Italian.

At this point humanistic endeavors and language developments reached such a pitch that the conflict of the ancient against the modern and of the various dialects against each other raged with its greatest force. Pietro Bembo was the central figure of this period. He was one of the purest Ciceronians; yet he wrote frequently in Italian, and it was his Prose

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della lingua volgare that was a decisive argument in favor of the vernacular. Though it was not published until 1525, it is significant that it had existed in manuscript form since 1502. Alberti had argued for the right of Italian to existence; Bembo argued for its necessity. The Prose is in dialogue form, and Bembo puts the four principal arguments against himself into the mouth of Ercole Strozzi: 1) tradition commands us to write in Latin; our sciences are in that tongue, and we should conserve the language of those who gave us these treasures; 2) to write in the vulgate is to acquire neither reputation nor learning, except with a small number of the ignorant; 3) Italian is irregular, ugly, and barbarous; finally 4) even if it were good to write in the vernacular, it would be impossible, for there was not one vernacular but many. Bembo's brother, Carlo, and Frederico Fregoso refuted these arguments: 1) language is only an instrument, not a part of the substance, and Greek and Latin are the languages of ancient culture only because they were the mother tongues of the Greeks and Romans; 2) the vernacular is something new, and therefore a writer has a better opportunity of winning a reputation than he would have in the crowded field of Latin; 3) Latin itself was once irregular and crude, but its users improved it, and Italian can be likewise improved;



4) the example of Greece, with at least five dialects, suffices to prove that a single and regular Italian speech can be formed.

To regulate the vernacular there were three separate tasks: to define the term "vulgar language", to fix a grammar, and to fix the orthography. The first was the most difficult and hotly debated.

Bembo and his group proposed Tuscan, not sixteenth century but thirteenth -century Tuscan. There were many objections. Some contended that the language of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch was a learned language and, besides, practically a dead language. It was admitted that a confusion of dialects would always be an impossible situation, but these men thought that a common speech, a mixture, might be devised; in fact, logic demanded it. If we use Tuscan, said others, let us use modern Tuscan. Lombards, Venetians, Romans — all except Florentines — refused to grant Tuscan superiority, relying on Dante himself for support, who had proposed not a Tuscan but an Italian speech. As one of Bembo's assistants, Machiavelli (Dialogo intorno alla lingua<sup>14</sup>) replied that a langue mèle did not exist and was inconceivable. Bembo defended thirteenth- ver-

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14 Published ca. 1514, though it circulated in Ms. form long before.





sus sixteenth-century Tuscan by holding that a purely popular language would bring with its adoption a sacrifice of art. "It is not the mass, it is the élite who make grand reputations."

The proponents of modern Tuscan surrendered easily; they did not by any means have the unanimous backing even of the inhabitants of Tuscany, and besides they had all of Italy against them. They recognized the necessity of enriching their dialect, but since to do so was to refer to their own illustrious poets of the late medieval period, their amour-propre was satisfied. In defense of a common language was Vincenzo Colli Calmeta (Poesia volgare) who advanced theories quite analogous to those of Dante. But the most famous defender of an ideal (court) language was Baldassar Castiglione (Il Cortegiano, 1529). This language was to be based on the speech of the concourse of princes and the court life; it was not formed by rules and had no model.<sup>15</sup> When we look at the viewpoints of any group of contenders we are usually amazed at the tissue-like thinness of the partition that separates them. The contest under consideration is no exception in that particular. Whatever the label, the ends in mind were practically the same. It was purely

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<sup>15</sup> A year after the Il Cortegiano Giangiorgio Trissino published a similar work, Il Castellano, which, however, lacked the netteté of the former.



a purist-innovator controversy. Call the new language Italian, Tuscan, ancien, or modern, Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch were certain to be the models.

Grammar we may dismiss here with despatch. In 1516 Le regole grammaticali of Gianfrancesco Fortunio appeared, being frequently imitated, and reprinted fifteen times in forty years. In 1530 Trissino wrote (in his Castellana) that there were seven authors of vulgar grammars, excluding the native Tuscans, and that he himself published in 1529 a Grammatichetta.<sup>16</sup>

The Academy of Sienne took up in 1515 or thereabouts the question of orthography. Having quickly concluded upon a phonetic basis, they met stiff opposition from adherents to the spelling of older writers. In a letter to Pope Clement VII<sup>17</sup> Trissino succeeded in re-opening a debate on the question which led to a satisfactory simplification of the orthography.

Bembo's spirit and theory was at the bottom of all the progress that took place after him. Following are a few of the many published efforts after his day: Giambattista Gelli, Ragionamento intorno alla lingua (1546); Claudio Tolomei, Il Cesano (1555); above all L'Ercolano

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<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of the influence of Italy's three great fourteenth century writers on these grammars, see Niccolo Liburnio's Le Tre Fontane (1526).

<sup>17</sup> Published in Rome, 1524.



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of Benedetto Varchi (1570). The latter was responded to by Girolamo Muzio, Battaglie per la difesa dell'italica lingua (1582).

Of course, the vernacular-Latin fight continued as it did elsewhere, but it was especially strong in Italy, since its agitators considered Latin their own ancestral language. Italy, they thought, had two languages, one practical, the other polished and learned. At Bologna, in the heart of Italy, Romolo Amaspeo, professor of ancient languages, delivered two lectures in 1529 favoring Latin as the learned, opposed to Italian as the people's language. Francesco Florido Sabino, in his .... aliorumque latinae linguae scriptorum calumniatores Apologia (1537), attacked the detractors of Latin, admitting some indulgence for Petrarch but holding that only his frivolous works were in the vernacular. G. Gaineo and P.A. da Barga were no less positive in their stand. The important thing is that these defenses of Latin continued long after Bembo and Machiavelli. In 1560, Varchi says, they were legion.

Since our discussion has run into fairly detailed account of what was happening in Italy in the early six-

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18 A very interesting work. Varchi considers the vernacular in many points superior to Latin and Greek, and thinks it should be called Tuscan.



teenth century, the problem of reviewing similar developments in other countries is greatly simplified. Italy was the model for all. A mere substitution of names, supplemented by an indication of correspondence and differences would very nearly suffice in the case of both France and England.

## II

To dwell on the development of the French language would be otiose, since it has already been covered in a series of scholarly works, the most important of which is that of Ferdinand Brunot, the Histoire de Langue des Origines de 1900 (1906), which has a complete survey of the history of the French language and devotes almost an entire volume to the fifteenth and sixteenth century developments. If we add to that the works of Charles Beaulieux, (L'Orthographie Francais), G. Lanson (Manuel Bibliographique de la Litterature Francaise Moderne), Mellerio, and — going back to the sixteenth century — those of Lefevre d'Etaples, Geoffrey Tory, Dolet, L. Meigret, Henry and Robert Estienne, Du Bellay, Sibilet, and Ronsard, we shall have at hand an ample treatment of the French language in the Renaissance.

The situation in France was both like and unlike that in Italy. The similarity lies in the fact that in

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both countries there was the struggle between Latin and the vernacular that featured the humanistic movement, with Latin giving way gradually in one branch of life or literary activity after another until finally the language of the people became dominant. The dissimilarity was three-fold. First, France came to the struggle later than Italy did; it is true, however, that as she modeled her other Renaissance activities on those of Italy, so this phase of it too was modeled on that of Italy, and therefore did not exhibit any very important original phenomena. Second, Italy was the home of ancient Latin; consequently the struggle was a harder one than in France, where Latin had always been a sort of imported speech. Third, France did not have the bitter dialect fight that Italy had. France did, of course, have its dialects, which were strongly differentiated, but for some reason or other, either because of greater political unity or, which is the same thing, a stronger dominance of the Ile de France dialect, that dialect was almost nationally accepted by the sixteenth century.

France unfortunately had no writer of the first rank during the centuries immediately preceding the Renaissance whom all of her people would regard as a model. It was not until the earlier part of the fif-



teenth century that French writers began to turn their attention frequently to the problem of language. The attempts to raise the vernacular in importance did not, however, destroy its spontaneity, though the systematic and often violent attempts in this direction did do away with the smaller peculiarities of the speech. As to this compromising of the language Brunot points out that the Ciceronians greatly aided the cause of the French vernacular. Latin itself was not capable of translating sixteenth-century thought without adding to itself a number of modern solecisms and a multitude of barbarisms, and in the words of Brunot: "C'etait la tuer."

The humanistic interest of the Renaissance could not remain Platonic; all treasure was the aim. Of the two ways to get it — by learning all languages or by putting all science into one known language — the easier, that of translation into French was chosen. This assured the spread of knowledge in French. The progress of the vernacular was uneven in the various sciences, but by the end of the century it was predominant in all.

One of the chief obstacles to the growth of the vernacular was the Latin tradition in the schools. French was used in grammar, only to introduce the child to Latin; that accomplished, it was abandoned. The program



of a Frenchman's life had been Latine loqui, pie vivere: "la piété ouvrait le ciel, le latin assurait l'entrée des sciences divines et humaines; it donnait commerce avec tout ce qu'il y a de bien de sage et de noble sur la terre."<sup>19</sup> In connection with this motto were the names Mathurin Cordier, Massebiau, Quicherat, Du Bellay, Boulenger, and finally Montaigne — the last was given over directly from the nursery to a German tutor who knew no French but much Latin. Boulenger was a forerunner in the movement for compulsory education; he held, however, that Latin was the only language in which to attempt this project of his. The College of Jesuits and the faculties of all the universities were equally as firm in this position. The first protest against this policy came after the middle of the century. Jean Bodin, in the De Instituenda in R. in Ventute Oratio, 1559, considered it a quality of a master to know well his own tongue and an enormous economy of time and labor to study sciences in the maternal speech as the ancients did and as the Italians were beginning to do. Following Bodin there were a number of such protests, but it was long before Latin ceased to reign exclusively in the schools.

Latin tradition in the church was equally strong

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19 Brunot, Histoire, II, 7.



as in the schools. As far back as 1170 Pope Pierre Valdo intercepted a plan to translate the scriptures. In 1229 the Council of Toulouse forbade the possession of any parts of the scriptures except the Hours, Psalter, and Breviary, and those could be possessed only in Latin. In 1234 at Taragonne all books in the romance language were recalled. These prohibitions extended to everybody, to the faithful as well as to heretics such as Wyclif and Huss. In the 1520's, the decade during which the Bible was so frequently translated in several vernaculars, there was in France a rather definite breaking away from the Latin tradition. In 1523 Lefevre d'Etaples translated the New Testament, prefacing the work with an eloquent attempt to justify it. Following this work the king ordered the Gospels published. But this advance was not to go unchecked, On the 12th of August, 1523, and again on the 26th of August, 1525, the faculty of Sorbonne declared the inconveniences of having translations multiplied and intercepted them absolutely. On the 3rd of October, 1525, Parliament had a lawyer, a curate, d'Etaples and Briconnet arrested. On the 17th of December, 1527, five of Erasmus's propositions were condemned by the faculty of Sorbonne. The arguments in support of these restrictions were that common men were to have the gospels in interpretation only, not in reading,





that the latter produced heresies; some churchmen of not so high order satisfied themselves with contending that the French was faulty and insufficient as a language. The great progress of the vernacular came, of course, with Calvin, though, as is evident, he wrote at the end, not at the beginning of the controversy. Latin was still the official language for the Scriptures, but Calvin urged the use of French in general church services for prayers. In his Institutio Religionis Christiani (translated 1541) he appealed to the masses, and the necessity of answering him in a language that would reach the people was a great force in favor of French.

Works on medicine and mathematics in the vernacular began to appear early in the sixteenth century, but came to be numerous only around 1530 and 1550. History began to come into its own with Claude de Seyssel who, though he published his most important work as late as 1527, was interested in the problem as early as 1509. Thus the first apology for the French language in the sixteenth century came from a historian. The kings from Louis XII to Henry III had given much favor and support to the French vernacular, and this support helped tremendously against redoubtable adversaries. Du Bellay, Sibilet, Amot, Henri Estienne, and others all attest this. Francois the First's name is, in



fact, the name of the language. Writers were not only rewarded but were actually requested and ordered by the kings to literary service, and this favorable attitude was by no means limited to the writing of the lives of kings — as, for example, witness Henry II's remunerative response to the Dialogues Contre les Nouveaux Academiciens. The kings were anxious in general to remedy the traditional ignorance of their courts and to elevate the cultural level of their public. In addition to these developments, one of the most important steps in French linguistic history is connected with matters of state and government. On August 15, 1539, there was passed the Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterets, articles 110 and 111 of which stipulated that all acts and operations of justice should be henceforth in French.

Seyssel's major piece of translation (published in 1527 by the order of Francois I) has already been mentioned. This author had travelled in Italy and wished to present that country to France as a model of unity, progress, and stability. The motive behind his work was the necessity of cultivating a "litterature en françois", of having their great works put "comme sur ung perron, dont elles fussent veues de toutes parts."<sup>20</sup> As to the possibilities of his native tongue, he challenged

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., II, 29.



his countrymen thus: "Qu'ont fait le peuple et les princes romains quand ils tenoient la monarchie du monde et qu'ils taschoient a la perpetuer et rendre eternelle? Ils n'ont trouue autre moyen plus seur que de magnifier, enrichir et sublimer leur langue latine, qui, du commencement de leur empire, estoit bien maigre et bien rude, et après, de la communiquer aux pais et prouinces et peuples par eux conquis, ensemble leurs lois Romaines couchees en icelle."<sup>21</sup>

Immediately after the appearance of this work of Seyssel's, Geoffrey Tory enlisted himself in the fight with his Chamfleury, published in 1529 though first conceived, as he says, in 1523. The Champfleury is more than a mere defense of the language; it is one of the first published works in which the employment of French is treated with intelligence and ardor. He wished not to condemn Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, but only "cheminer plus seurement en sa voye domestique, c'estadire escrire en françois, comme François que nous sommes."<sup>22</sup> He counted as only the indicator of the changes that were taking place. He knew the language needed improvement, but so had Latin; France needed a Priscian, a Donatus, a Quintilian. He found

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., II, 30.

<sup>22</sup> Champfleury, quarto edition, 1529, 12 ro.



his native language one of the most beautiful and gracious of the human speeches,<sup>23</sup> and, very like Elyot and at about the same time, he wished first to augment the amount of intellectual writing done in French and second to lay these writings at the very doors of all those who knew how to read.

In the meantime the occupation with translations was growing. A glance through the pages of Lanson's Manuel reveals very readily the fact that translations were increasing during the 1540's, and 1550 marks the beginning of the flood stage. Of course, some translations had been made earlier — Cicero, Aristotle, Plato had been rendered into French in the fifteenth century — as for that matter, they were translated throughout the Middle Ages. Outstanding among the translations which appeared before 1540 are Thucydides (1527), Homer (1530), Ovid (1484) -- and frequently thereafter --, Vergil (1516), Mantuan (1523), Petrarch (1514, 1519, 1523, 1531, 1538, etc.), Pulci (1519, 1536), and Sannazaro (1534). With the exception of the last three, the Italians — Tasso, for example — were translated later.

Throughout this time the question of orthography was receiving surprisingly frequent attention. Tory had in his Champfleury advertised the use of the accents,

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23 Ibid., 24 ro.





the cedilla, and the apostrophe, putting these forms into practice in his Adolescence Clementine (1533) and further elaborating upon them in the same year in his Briefue doctrine pour deuement escrire selon la propriete du langage francoys. During the same year that the Champfleury was published, Machecrier wrote his Traicte Dorthography (according to Beaulieux<sup>24</sup> the first treatise on French orthography). Immediately following, in 1529, Dubois<sup>25</sup> demanded some simplifications in spelling. He would do away with g's after nasals (making ung become un, for example), and oppose the multiplication of Greek y's. He would also by strict adherence to etymology build up a kind of French-Latin language (in such words as poisser < picare, and lisons < legimus). Dolet<sup>26</sup> sought to regulate the use of the apostrophe, to write à 'to' to distinguish it from a (< L. habet), to use the grave accent (as in volupte) as the sign of the masculine, and to indicate the conjunction (païra) and the separation (poëte) of two vowels. Louis Meigret has the distinction of first seeing the problem in its entirety. His Traite Touchant le Commun Usage de l'Ecriture Francoise was published

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<sup>24</sup> Charles Beaulieux, L'Orthography Francaise, 1927, p. 235.

<sup>25</sup> Tresutile et copendieulx traicte de l'art et science d'orthographie Gallicane.

<sup>26</sup> Traicte Dorthography.



in Paris in 1542.<sup>27</sup> These, with J. Sylvius and J. de Beaune, are only the most prominent names in the history of French orthography. Meigret's chief adversaries were Guillaume, Des Autels, and Peletier du Mans. The efforts of these men on both sides of the question grew in strength around the middle of the century, aided by the general interest in language and by at least one Latin-French dictionary, that of Robert Estienne, published in 1528 (this was reissued in 1531-2 under the title Thesaurus Linguae and augmented in 1536; in 1538 a new enlargement began with the appearance of the first part, Dictionarium Latino-Gallicum; the counterpart of the latter, Dictionaire François-Latin, came out in 1539).<sup>28</sup>

The mention of Peletier du Mans brings us to the Pleiade group. There had been at the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century an increased interest in this problem of the national tongue, that interest being manifested not only in a greater number of works written in French and in more numerous translations to the French, but also in frequent and lengthy defenses of the vernacular and programs for its use. France enjoyed the phenomenon peculiar to her among European

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<sup>27</sup> Brunot gives pp. 95-106 to a synopsis of this book.

<sup>28</sup> Beaulieux devotes more than 100 pages to Robert Estienne, in the third part of the L'Orthographe Française.



countries of having this growing enthusiasm taken in hand early in a definite and organized manner. The activities of the 1520's and 1530's brought together a group of men which in the 1540's came to be known as the Pleiade and which in 1549 published its tenets, Philosophy, and program.<sup>29</sup> In the same year the Academy issued its Grand Dictionary. One sees, then, that during the period of Elyot's writing there was going on across the channel from him a movement different from the one in which he participated only in the force with which it got under way and the rapidity with which it gained momentum.

### III

Less dwelt upon by the critics, but of importance to the subject are the developments in Germany. During the same fifty years with which this study is concerned in England, the German language was being raised to and fixed in its deserved place of respect. It was the influence of Martin Luther to which this development is chiefly due, but he can be given credit only for bringing to fruit the seed planted in a well-prepared ground. This he accomplished more by his position as a religious reformer than by his purely linguistic en-

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29 Du Bellay's Deffense.



deavors.

Although in Germany the battle in defense of the vernacular was more rapid and much less bitter, there, as in other countries during the Middle Ages, the dialect differences were very great. As late as 1300 Hug vom Triberg, in Der Renner, mentioned the unpleasant stamp which the Frankish accent placed upon one. If there had been during the days of knighthood the leisure and inclination to standardize the language by grammars, that prospect dimmed as the institution passed away. The improvement in the situation over that which had existed in Old High German days consisted in the leveling and smoothing out of speech differences — a Europe-wide phenomenon. As a result people from separated districts came to be merely stamped by their speech, not unintelligible as they formerly were. The geographical limits within which Germans could understand each other were extended and the language spoken within those limits — with all its variations — is what we know as Middle High German. At the close of the Middle Ages, perhaps two-thirds of the German people enjoyed a community of speech.

The struggle between Latin and German seems not to have been a very long or bitter one. As early as 1350 governmental documents were in German, though it is true that the Kaiser's practice of having local men





draw up documents for their particular regions led to considerable differences in the language of the various documents. The unifying effect of a central government, however, caused a tendency toward the establishment of a High German Reichssprache. Friedrich the Third began the practice of taking his own officer with him on rounds, who issued all the Emperor's proclamations in the same dialect. Maximilian and other governments after him adopted the same practice. From about 1465 the Kursächsische Kanzleisprache was built on its lines. There grew up, however, a conflict between the Kaiser's Kanzleisprache and the Kursächsische, which, though it caused some mutual concessions, did not bring about the official means of communication. From the middle of the fifteenth century the universities carried on their correspondences in the Kursächsische speech. Of most importance is the fact that a common speech aside from these Kanzleissprachen was under way early in the fifteenth century. In a life of Jerome (1464) by a Karthaus monk a "Germanen theutsch" is already spoken of, and the translations of the Bible before Luther are announced as being done "Noch rechtem gemeinen teutsch". The earlier translations did not have this, but those from 1480 have.

Quite different from humanism in other European countries, German variety was completely national in char-



acter. Maxmillian and his scholars (Celtis, Peutinger, Stabius, Cuspinianus, Wimpfeling, Irtenius, Rhenanus, etc.) began extensive researches in German history and culture. The thirty years after 1500 saw the publication of numbers of volumes on things German. Not only that, the humanists brought the German language to a place of importance also by placing it as equal to Greek and nearer the latter than Latin.<sup>30</sup> But finding it in that respect superior to the Latin did not prevent some from following the widespread practice of the day, of studying and comparing Latin syntax and of improving the German vernacular by borrowings from the Latin vocabulary.

Luther's main influence began in 1522 with the first publication of his New Testament. He had by wide travelling come into contact with all sections of Germany and had begun to desire for religious purposes to write in the language of the people; hence his acceptance of the Kursächsische Kanzleisprache, as everyone knows, did not mean at all that he was limiting himself to that kind of speech. His was an abstraction

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<sup>30</sup> There is a most amazing similarity between this opinion and the almost identical discovery of Henri Estienne, William Tyndale, and Thomas Elyot with regard to France and England respectively. It is also interesting to note that the Italians, the direct heirs to Latin culture had called German a barbaric speech.



of all dialects. His adherence to that particular government speech was the natural result of his having read most widely in it (even many of the Kaiserliche documents which he saw had been translated into it), and of the Kaiser's hostile attitude toward the Protestants.

Following him there were many who took up his speech, which was easily and widely adapted to the use of all Germans. From two quarters there came opposition. In Switzerland Zwingli and his followers held out against Luther's use of diphthongs (ei and au, for example) for older long vowels (i and u), but came over rather easily to accepting the change. In Low Germany there was a stronger fight, but one which was doomed to failure since there had always been in that section a kind of submission to High German supremacy.

Pietsch, in summing up the linguistic situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century, with especial regard to Luther, says that in spite of the fact that we do not possess a detailed knowledge of the period, of one thing we are sure: Martin Luther was the corner stone of the building which is the present New High German. And quoting Karl Müllenhoff he continues, "Wie im Staat, in Religion, Wissenschaft and Kunst, so geht auch in der Sprache alles einheitliche Leben der Nation von dem gewaltigen Manne aus, der zuerst ihre verschiedenen Stämme zusammenfasste, ihre Geschichte an die der alten Welt



anknüpft<sup>31</sup> und sie so in eine Bahn wies, deren letztes Stadium noch zu durchlaufen ist." Without Luther, Pietsch thinks, "wäre Deutschland vielleicht auch sprachlich auseinandergefallen, wie es das politisch so lange war, und eine wirkliche sprachliche Trennung der einzelnen Teile würde eine spätere politische Einigung unmöglich gemacht haben."<sup>31</sup> After 1530 — that is, after Luther — there was a new, continued, and fruitful effort — by means of grammars, rhetorics, defenses, and pleas — to bring about a uniformity and elevation of the German language and literature.

#### IV

Not infrequently critics have been guilty of an interpretation of the Renaissance that is far from correct or adequate. In the first place, they often speak of England's having followed the example of continental countries, coming after them and proceeding over the same roads that they had cleared; in the second place, the entire significance of the Renaissance is often found in a revival of classical antiquity only. No view of the English Renaissance can be much more deprecatory than that. This Revival was a spirit. Man, restricted

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<sup>31</sup> Paul Pietsch, Martin Luther und die hochdeutsche Schrift-Sprache, pp., 119-20.





and helpless for centuries, was gradually gaining the strength of his limbs, the courage of his heart, and the maturity of his brain. He was waking from a sleep and feeling the freshness of the morning re-create the fibers of his body and of his institutions alike. One needs no more illustration of this than the fact that the beginning of the Revival in Italy came years before the fall of Constantinople. The Middle Ages in all countries had seen the efforts of minds towards freedom: in industrial developments, in popular literature,<sup>32</sup> and in the religious writings of such men as Abelard and Thomas Aquinas. It is only with this full understanding of the roots and branches of the growing liberalism that one can satisfactorily explain the side-by-side development of such conflicting movements as the renewed study of the classics and a sudden interest in vernaculars, as a program of study designed to promote "good Cristen lyff and maners" and an unforeseen revolt against the old church, as increased international relations and ever-growing nationalism.<sup>33</sup> The events of

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<sup>32</sup> The little cantefable "Aucassins et Nicolette" is an excellent example.

<sup>33</sup> "By an odd paradox the discovery of antiquity was to intensify the divergence of states who, out of a common culture, then extracted the sense of their national consciousness." Lewis Einstein, Tudor Ideals, p. 188.



1453 served only to break the first considerable gap in the wall, through which all Europe was to rush, and Italians were fortunate enough to be near the break. That they alone of Europeans could and did make most of the circumstances may be true; yet their struggles and needs were essentially the same as in other countries, and Italy must be considered not to have aroused Europe but only to have got off to a first start.

England was slower than the continent in general. For several centuries her strongest contact had been with her nearest neighbor, France. There had been, of course, some exchange and communication with Germany; beginning in the fifteenth century, it received an impetus from the printing business of Caxton and his successors, and from the religious reformation of the early sixteenth century. Even so, France, the strongest influence, was herself behind Italy and even Germany, and moreover the augmented national spirit of Englishmen under the Tudors was attended by a growing hostility towards France which led to a break with that country. She did, as a result, make slower progress than France,<sup>34</sup> in spite of the fact that her initiation into humanism was quite as early as that of the latter country.

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<sup>34</sup> As an instance, Greek was taught publicly in Paris in 1488, but in England not until Grocyn began in 1491.



The nature of the English Renaissance itself has been best explained in the two excellent books of Lewis Einstein, Tudor Ideals and The Italian Renaissance in England (1902). Einstein, deals exhaustively with all the research that has been made in the problem, finding that England's Revival of Learning was in three broad phases different from that phenomenon among continental peoples: the Reformation struck deeper and influenced more strongly; nationalism was a more considerable factor; and Italian humanism, under the influence of this religious and patriotic force, developed in England into a peculiar brand. As Einstein puts it, the English, practical mind embraced neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation wholeheartedly, but accepted some of both and thereby attained to an invaluable richness. Of these three phases, the religious and the intellectual will be touched on later in this chapter, but the patriotic so hovers over the whole development of the language that it must come before we enter into a talk of linguistics proper.

Under the stimulus of the New Learning England gained unity in nation-consciousness almost at once. Italy had been delayed by interferences and internal

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35 Tudor Ideals, p. xiii.



bickerings; France had been retarded by religious wars. This national growth, a general phenomenon, was particularly strong in England, where a sense of protecting isolation had developed. The feeling seemed to touch all phases of life. "The national spirit asserted on the ruins of feudalism, demanded the use of the vernacular to be substituted for the Latin of the Universal church. The cosmopolitan fabric of Europe as a Christian republic was crumbling, and in its place, national growth was everywhere evident."<sup>36</sup> A reaction to anything foreign — as, for example, Henry VIII's having to plead for his divorce before a Roman tribunal — swelled the patriotic spirit; accordingly the same response from the peoples of Europe followed the renewed popularity of classical studies. "While this patriotism gave rise to an ambition to rival the masterpieces of Greece and Rome as well as those of Italy and France, it inspired at the same time antagonism to the foreign influences which seemed to threaten the national genius. It was an obstacle to Italianism, that most potent of the infatuations of the Renaissance. It is impossible to say whether in England, in this century, Italy were more the object of wonder or of scandal, of admiration or of disapproval. Increasingly England felt and wished

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 188.





herself to be different from the rest of Christendom."<sup>37</sup>

In two points the patriotism of Englishmen bore a peculiar stamp. First, though it was certainly in large part instinctive, it was partially intellectual—that is, inspired by the examples of other nations, and hence foreign-born. Through the third quarter of the sixteenth century there was, in this respect, a great cleavage between the upper and lower classes, the former aping foreigners and the latter despising the outlander and all his ways. This hostility to the court, where the foreign influence was much in evidence, first received written expression in the writings of Ascham and Wilson, who ridiculed the "Italianate Englishmen", as Henri Estienne<sup>38</sup> and others were deploring the state of French "italianize". Second, though the spread of Protestantism England made a more decided break with the Middle Ages than her continental neighbors; yet "her literature remained more nearly mediaeval than that of either of those countries."<sup>39</sup> The difference lay in the social nature of the Revival; in France pronouncedly aristocratic, the Renaissance in England was always regardful of the masses. In the fifteenth century England

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<sup>37</sup> Emil Legouis, A History of English Literature, (650-1660), 1927, I, 128.

<sup>38</sup> Deux Dialogues du nouveaux langage François italianize (1578).

<sup>39</sup> Legouis, loc. cit.



was too much under the domination of French influence for this to be so; education, for example, was only slightly enjoyed by the upper classes and not at all by the lower. The New Learning, paradoxically, changed all this. Popular education came more into vogue; the popular ballads were preserved and multiplied; the theater, accessible to all men, came into its hey-day.

"The real triumph of the classical spirit came when men felt that they were no longer kept in its thrall."<sup>40</sup>

In the specific realm of language the developments in England exhibited two important peculiarities: 1) by the time that country began to reap the benefits of the Renaissance, there was no longer any question as to what dialect should become standard English; 2) England was late in producing formal defenses of her language.<sup>41</sup> In all essentials the language of England had been standardized since the time of Chaucer. London, the chief city, could not only point to Chaucer, Gower, and their successors as having written in her speech, but she could also boast a language most suitable of the dialects to national adoption, because, being a compromise between northern and southern English,

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<sup>40</sup> Einstein, op.cit., p. 331.

<sup>41</sup> In these respects one is impressed again by the apparent disorder and incoherence of English progress.



it was more generally intelligible than the speech of either geographical extreme. Into the fifteenth century it continued to strengthen its hold. When the university (Oxford) dialect rose to a place of rivalry, it again held fast to an indisputable first rank.<sup>42</sup> It cannot, of course, be held that the dialect divergences in England so quickly and easily merged into standard English; Spenser's archaisms, for instance, have nearly all been found in the Lancashire dialect of his time.<sup>43</sup>

Concomitant with this settlement of the dialect question was the gradual establishment of English as the language of England. Italy and France had at least been spared anything greater than a dual match between Latin and their own vernaculars, but England had never known any such concentration of conflict. First, there had been the Danish invasion, with its influence on government and language; then came the period of French domination, lasting much longer than the Danish and con-

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42 See the further discussion of this point on p.63.

"The first clear recognition of the fact that London English was the standard written language does not occur until 1589, when the Art of English Poesie, attributed to George Puttenham, was published." Emerson, History of the English Language, p. 82. Such a statement is quite arbitrary and cannot receive much consideration from students of the sixteenth century. The London dialect was established long before Puttenham advised his countrymen to follow it (see his Arte, p. 157).

43 See George Wagner, On Spenser's Use of Archaisms, 1879, and Wilkinson, "E. Spenser and the East Lancashire Dialect".



tinuing even to the new era in the sixteenth century. Whatever the benefits of these experiences were, the importance of them in this connection is that the French influence was still strong at the beginning of the Renaissance and that therefore the English linguistic battle was fought against two foes, Latin and French. The latter, whose hold was more recent and hence weaker, was most quickly overcome. The fall had begun in 1154 when the Norman line of kings died out and the Plantagenets succeeded. Exactly fifty years later England lost Normandy, and the stranded Norman barons joined hands with the burghers against the king, thus destroying some of the clear demarcation between institutions English and French. Throughout the thirteenth century, however, French was dominant; Robert Gloucester could say that he who knew no French was of little importance. Then came a turn. In 1362 Edward III summoned Parliament in English and court pleadings were allowed in the vernacular; in 1375 appeared the first private document in English; in 1462 came Capgrave's Chronicle, the first one in English since the Conquest; in 1488 other non-legal documents could be preserved in the mother tongue. By 1500 England was a one-tongue country.

The second chief peculiarity of the language development in England, as already pointed out, was the tardier formation of rules and treatises on the art of rhet-





oric. "In Italy, the end had been attained by a dictatorship; in France, the reformers aimed at devising rules; but in England, the method adopted was the characteristic one of compromise."<sup>44</sup> Leonard Cox, whose The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke was published about 1530, is given credit for having written the earliest treatise on rhetoric in the English language. That, however, is too isolated an example to be taken as evidence that Englishmen began early the process of formulation. Thomas Wilson (The Rule Reason, conteyning the Arte of Logike, Sette forth in English by Thomas Wilson, 1551, and Arte of Rhetorique, 1553) is really the first to do for English what Bembo had done for Italy in the first years of the century, and what Sibilet, Du Bellay, Peletier du Mans, Ronsard — the whole Pleiade group, in fact — had done for France in the 1540's. Even after Wilson's work England was destined to wait almost a quarter of a century before she could boast a "defense" or a "school" comparable to those of her neighbors.

So much for generalities and now to a review of the writers and tendencies of the age. Three great events stand out in the history of the English language in the fifteenth century: the invention of printing;

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— 44 J.W.H. Aitkins, CHEL, III, 446.



the great vocalic change in the language; the establishment of the London dialect. England was at least a generation later than the continent in realizing the value of the printing press. The vocalic change (called by Jespersen "the great vowel shift") was contemporary, for some sounds, with identical changes in High German. It is somewhat later than the War of the Roses and has, hence, a social significance.<sup>45</sup> The standard dialect was established by the time of Caxton's death, if not earlier. In a general way, it may be said that the chief changes in the language before Chaucer were morphological, and that during the fifteenth century they were lexicographical. Up to Caxton's death the fifteenth century showed increasing stress on the vernacular and a development of uniformity in the written language, most of the latter coming toward the end of the period.

Saying that there was no prose of worth between the Old English period and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the same as saying that there was a very slowly increasing amount of prose. Up to the fourteenth century at least, only learned writings were in prose,

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<sup>45</sup> The work in recent years of Zachrisson and Jespersen has revealed that the vowel shift took place as far back as the fifteenth century and that the present pronunciation of English was "established towards the end of the seventeenth century." Wyld agrees on the first point but thinks that our pronunciation was hardly fixed so early.



and Latin was in the ascendant for learned works. The vernacular was serving frequently, in the meantime, as a medium for poetry, which, being more conservative, could be beautiful in an archaic and only slowly developing speech. But "Ce jour arriva, on le sait, dans la seconde partie du quatorzième siècle, et on peut dire que des lors une oeuvre litteraire en prose anglaise commençait a redevenir possible."<sup>46</sup> The first step was naturally translation. There was Trevisa's Polychronicon (1387), which though crude in language and style as compared with its easy original, is nevertheless important linguistically for the light it throws on the relation of the English and the French. Higden, in the original Polychronicon (1363), bemoaned the small knowledge of English as compared with the great familiarity with French in the schools, but Trevisa, only twenty-four years later,<sup>47</sup> found the situation reversed. There was also Mandeville's Travels (1377), helpfully influential on English prose by its effortless style. Chaucer's prose, also, is important, but chiefly because of its bulk. He translated from Latin to English the Consolation of Boethius, and several treatises in the Astrolabe; from French, the Roman de la Rose, the "Tale of Melibeus", and the "Parson's

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<sup>46</sup> J. Delcourt, Essai sur la langue de Sir Thomas More, 1914, p. 259.

<sup>47</sup> "...now children of gramer schole conneth no more French than can hir lift heele...Also gentil men



Tale". Legouis has remarked<sup>48</sup> that during this period the "great degree of identity which had come to exist between the syntax and construction of French and English" explains the phenomenon that English prose was "the more English for being translated from French, the stiffer for being translated from Latin." That difference, he finds, exists between the translations of Chaucer from the two languages. Wyclif, in a more popular field of translation, was far from fortunate in prose, possibly because his was not only a translation from Latin but from the Vulgate at that — hence it was a translation of a translation. Richard Rolle's writings show a certain happy choice of words and a sense of harmony. To him has often been paid the cliché-like tribute of being called the "father of English prose".

The prose of the fifteenth century was still crude, though in some departments improvement was noticeable. With Pecock (Repressor, 1455) the theological prose, though practically the same grammatically, was a great advance over Wyclif's vocabulary and logical structure. Besides, James I and Lydgate showed progress in affluence and polish over Chaucer. Actually, however, sec-

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(47 continued) haveth now moche i-left for to teche here children Frenhsche." Trevisa, Polychronicon.

48 Op. cit., pp. 63-4.





ular prose showed little development. For everyday purposes English was sufficient, and it took an influx of new conditions of society and of moral and intellectual culture to demand improvement. The Paston Letters (1422-1509), for example, the work of John Capgrave, and Fortescue's On the Governance of England are in scarcely more than intelligible prose, though the latter, by his manner and choice of subject, was, in spite of his archaisms, essentially modern.

Malory presents a more complex stage than any of the men so far mentioned. In atmosphere, rhythm, and the symbolic charm of adventure he was medieval; yet his work reminds us with what great labor that age, little trained in composition, was already beginning to adapt expression to thought with a relative clarity. It was beginning to get possession and control of le mot pittoresque. Southey (Introduction to his reprint of the Morte D'Arthur, 1817) has said that the Morte D'Arthur was translated at a very opportune moment; that a generation earlier the language had been too Teutonic, and that a generation later translation was in the hands of men of a trade and hence corrupt. Marsh considers that superficial criticism. Pecoek (representing the earlier generation), he says, was rhetorically ahead of Malory, though grammatically behind; on the other hand, Lord Berners cannot be said to have actual-



ly "'debased'" either "'the work he interpreted'" or "'the language in which he wrote'".<sup>49</sup> Malory himself was very Teutonic: "The proportion of French words in the narrative of the death of Arthur, Morte D'Arthur, Bk. 21, Ch. 5 , which does not exceed four per cent, is smaller than Malory's general average; but it would be difficult to find any author of later date than the middle of the fourteenth century whose vocabulary is so 'Teutonic' as his."<sup>50</sup>

Linguistically speaking, the most important person in fifteenth-century England, because of both his contributions to the language and his significant position in the history of the English people, was William Caxton. Fault may be found in his failure to use his printing press to quite the advantage it might have served in speeding up the Revival of Learning; he may rightly be credited with poor taste in some matters, with having issued botched prints of Chaucer, for instance; nevertheless, the force he exerted for the benefit of language, literature, and life are consistently recognized. His works, unoriginal as most of them are, deserve, with those of Chaucer, the distinction of having been more studied, from a linguistic viewpoint, than any other Eng-

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49 G.P. Marsh, The Origin and History of the English Language and of the Early Literature It Embodies, 1877, p. 487. The words and phrases in single quotes are Marsh's paraphrases of Southey.

50 Ibid., p. 488.



lish literary productions during the six centuries preceding the Renaissance.

One phase of this study has been the dialect in which he wrote and which with his work became standard. In 1901 Wilhelm Dibelius published his study of Capgrave,<sup>51</sup> in which he concluded that not Chaucer, as ten Brink had thought,<sup>52</sup> nor Wyclif, as Koch had thought,<sup>53</sup> but Caxton was the founder of the English literary speech; that his language, moreover, was a combination of the London and the Oxford — that is, the official and the university — dialects.<sup>54</sup> Dibelius' opinion stood for five years. In 1906 Julius Lekebusch, a student of Morsbach,<sup>55</sup> followed up one of his teacher's studies under the title Die Londoner Urkundensprache von 1430-1500.<sup>56</sup> He takes his lead from two statements of Morsbach, one that Caxton's speech was "im grossen und ganzen nichts anders als die schon zum Gemeingut vieler gewordene Londoner Schriftsprache"; and the other that, "Es ist das grosse Verdienst Caxtons, dass er in richtigen Würdigung der

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51 "John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache". Anglia, XXIII (1901), 153-194; 211-263; 323-375; and XXIV (1901), 269-308; 427-272.

52 Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst, 1899.

53 Die Satzlehre der englischen Sprache, , and Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, .

54 "Die Sprache von London und die Sprache von Oxford dienten im 15. Jahrhundert weiteren Kreisen als Muster in London und Oxford entstanden schriftsprachlichen Tendenzen.

"Caxton vermittelte zwischen beiden Sprachtypen; er hat damit die englische Schriftsprache geschaffen. Dies-



sprachlichen Verhältnisse seines Landes und unbekummert um Vorurteile und falsche Ratschläge einzelner gelehrten Männer sich der von der Hauptstadt ausgegangenen sprachlichen Bewegung anschloss und dieselbe in fest und sichere Bahnen lenkte."<sup>57</sup> Working with more extensive and representative materials than Dibelius had used, Lekebusch arrived at the conclusion that "Die neuenglische Schriftsprache ist allein aus dem Londoner Zentrum herausgewachsen ohne einen Einfluss von Seiten Oxfords."<sup>58</sup> Caxton never lived in Oxford, and there had been no printing press before him to publish anything in the Oxford dialect; the possibility that he read manuscripts in that speech is too small to concern the student. Lekebusch's results have not been refuted or superseded.

Caxton's publications number sixty-three, of which

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(54 continued) er enthält neben überwiegenden Londoner auch Oxfordische Elemente." (Op. cit., Anglia, XXIV, 1901, 303-4).

55 L. Morsbach, Ueber den Ursprung der Neuenglischen Schriftsprache, 1888, being a study of the years 1380-1450.

56 Stud. z. engl. Phil., 23.

57 Morsbach, op. cit., pp. 168 and 170.

58 Lekebusch, op. cit., p. 144.

59 Lekebusch proposes the question, In how far was Oxford a speech center? Unfortunately, Wyclif's Bible and Pecock's Repressor are about the only documents in English with which to study the question, and the controversies surrounding the Bible make Wyclif hardly a fair test. That circumstance, however, is natural, since Oxford was first of all a university and its speech still Latin and not English. It is unlikely that its language was sufficiently distinct from the rest of English to make it a speech center. (Op. cit., pp. 144-5.)





number not one is a work of classical antiquity, though several are second-hand translations of Greek and Latin authors through the French. He issued a few ecclesiastical manuals and a volume of parliamentary statutes in Latin, and one or two books in French. Throughout his career as translator and publisher, it was his endeavor "to reduce the orthography and grammar, and sometimes even the vocabulary, of the authors he printed, to the usage of his own time, or rather to an arbitrary and not very uniform standard set up by himself."<sup>60</sup> His style is full of Gallicisms. Though Malory, highly Anglo-Saxon in language, borrowed many Romance words, Caxton's Game of the Chesse has nearly three times as many French words as Malory.<sup>61</sup>

Three of Caxton's works have been studied and edited with some emphasis on language. First in point of date is the Dialogues in French and English (c. 1483).<sup>62</sup> It is based on an original French-Flemish work, and seems to be simply the addition of an English column to that work. Done probably during Caxton's sojourn in Flanders, possibly even as a means of learning the language of the new country, it went to press in need of

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60 Marsh, op. cit., p. 483.

61 Marsh considers that his changes in the language of his originals were more often corruptions than improvements. (Loc. cit.)

62 Edited by H. Bradley for the EETS, 79 (1900).



much revision, and shows great influence of the Flemish on his English.

Kellner's edition of the Blanchardyn and Eglantine (c. 1489)<sup>63</sup> presents Caxton as not so pious a slave in translation as he is sometimes accused of being. Octavia Richardson, in her edition (1884-5) of his Four Sonnes of Aymon, (c. 1489) thought him stiff and literal, transferring bodily into his text words and phrases which were foreign and unusual. Kellner, on the other hand, finds him certainly as good and free a prose writer as any Englishman in the fifteenth century. True, his repetitions, tautology, and anacolutha make his style awkward to a modern reader, but his language is really English; his syntax and word-order, and even his method of introducing foreign words is in line with the genius of his native language.

W. T. Culley and F. J. Furnivall have edited the Eneydos (1490),<sup>64</sup> the Prologue to which is famous for the passages found there on Caxton's linguistic difficulties, interests, and aims. This Prologue is in very plain English, but the translation, probably because of a poor original, is not so successful as English prose. In this, as in the other pieces, there is ample evidence

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63 EETSES, 58 (1890).

64 EETSES, 57 (1890).



of his having sought to write in "englysshe not ouer rude ne curyous" but "in a meane bytwene bothe."

One more phase of Caxton's work interests us at this point. One of his chief justifications of the business of translating books into English was that it made possible a better education for children. He sent his printing of Lefevre's Jason to the young Prince of Wales "to thentente that he may be gynne to lerne rede English."<sup>65</sup> Again, speaking of decadence in London, he expresses the belief that a change must begin with the children; so he recommends his "book callid Caton" or "the Regyment or governance of the body and soule."<sup>66</sup> Though this might have been only business sense, it seems certain that his motives and objectives were in the main praiseworthy.

Caxton's death occurred in the same year that Italian humanism made its first substantial ingress on English soil. The way for it was fully paved: there were a dissatisfaction with what was, and an accompanying curiosity that was reaching to the four corners of the geographical and intellectual universe. John Fisher writes that "there had stolen over well-nigh all of us

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<sup>65</sup> N.S. Aurner, Caxton, Mirrour of Fifteenth Century Letters, 1926, p. 40.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 72.



at Cambridge in his time a weariness of learning and study. There were few or no helpers of men of letters; the best of the nobility, the patrons of learning, had fallen on the battlefields or under the executioner's axe; little was taught even in the universities — save antiquated and artificial studies."<sup>67</sup> Under such circumstances the return of Grocyn and Linacre from Italy and the news they brought were joyously welcomed by a few elect spirits who were still enough alive to appreciate it.

Unfortunately the immediate contribution of this elect group to the "illustration" of the English language was not great. Their chief aim and interest was not the furtherance of English; rather their ambition was to improve the knowledge of classical literature, to produce good Greek and Latin scholars, to establish the teaching of those languages on sound principles. Little remains to us from the pen of William Grocyn; Linacre, Lily, and Erasmus made their contributions to literature and life in Latin; and More, in addition to writing his most important literary piece in Latin, required his children to write even their familiar letters in that language. Nevertheless, these men exerted a

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<sup>67</sup> This passage is taken at third hand from G.H. McKnight, Modern English in the Making, 1928, p. 86. He quotes from E.M.G. Routh, Lady Margaret, p. 87.





tremendous influence on the rise of English by providing new materials and opening new issues — in short, by garnering from classical literature germinal ideas from which were to spring the later luxuriant growth of the native tongue.

To repeat, this group as a whole made few direct and immediate contributions to the English language. Grocyn's chief work was the teaching of Greek. Linacre wrote a Latin grammar and translated Galen into Latin. Lily is also the author of a Latin grammar, which, revised by Erasmus, superseded Donatus and Priscian, was in the eighteenth century adopted as the Latin grammar of Eton, and continued in use until the nineteenth century. Colet, a man of great wisdom, is remembered for his interpretation of Scripture, his influence on Erasmus and other humanists, and the establishment of the Paul's School. Erasmus was concerned with criticism, in connection with which he did some work on Latin textbooks, grammars, and word-lists. He had no real sympathy with the vernaculars; he considered them not at all on equal terms with the classical languages and apparently gave no thought to their possibilities. In a slightly different field of activity Fisher and Latimer made some contribution to the advance of English. The first exhibits some love of order, eloquence, and gift of detail, though in the same respects his prose is in-



ferior to that of More. The second wrote in the simple prose of the people; hence he, more than his contemporaries, represents the syntactical and inflectional changes that were taking place in the vernacular, while at the same time his language does not show the most recent additions to vocabulary and the new logical combinations of familiar words.

Of all the English writers of the early sixteenth century, Thomas More has received most attention from scholars, from both a literary and a linguistic standpoint. It is unnecessary and improper to give in this study any satisfactory account of his importance or of the study which has been made of his writing.<sup>68</sup> His speech is considered as reflecting that of cultured circles in London during the first thirty-five years of the century. In explanation of having given so much space to More, Dr. Johnson wrote: 1) "our language was then in a great degree formed and settled"; 2) "it appears from Ben Johnson that his works were considered as models of pure and elegant style"; 3) "his works are carefully and correctly printed, and may therefore be better trusted than any other edition of the English books of that, or the pre-

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68 The two most important studies of his language are the works of Grünzinger and Delcourt. The former's is entitled Die neuenglische Schriftsprache in den Werken des Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), 1909; the latter's, Essai sur la langue de Sir Thomas More, better fulfills the conditions of true scholarship.



ceding ages."<sup>69</sup> Two present-day writers<sup>70</sup> on More find that Johnson's reasons still hold. More's Richard III had been called "the best, and the best written part of all our chronicles, in all men's opinions."<sup>71</sup> Like estimates have been expressed in writing from Roger Ascham almost to the present year.<sup>72</sup> When one does find critics stressing More's weaknesses and failures as a writer, he discovers the evaluation to be one based not on contemporary standards but on what has come to be considered good English prose.

M. Delcourt has considered the study of More's language essential to an understanding of the state of English in the first years of the Renaissance. He finds faults, of course, but he is on the whole very apprecia-

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69 From the "History of the English Language" pre-faced to the Dictionary.

70 Campbell, W. E., and Reed, A. W. (editors), The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale by Sir Thomas More, 1927, p. 44.

71 From The Fame of Blessed Thomas More, 1929, the introductory essay, p. 18.

72 Marsh thinks that only in the Richard III does More deserve praise as one of the first great English prose writers. (Op. cit., p. 503). Most scholars will agree that that is his best English prose.

Sweet finds the history of English prose from the end of the Old English period to the beginning of the seventeenth century nothing more than a blank page (First Middle English Primer, p. vi).

Gosse (Short History of Modern English Literature, p. 62) gives More a small space on the point of form only. He concedes to More, however, an easy grace which had been rare before him.

Sir James Mackintosh (Life of More, p. 22) thought of More's role as that of traversing the solitudes of our



tive of More's expressive power in English. For him More combines two great facts: the fact of the Renaissance (study of the classics), and the fact of reform (religious developments); though the latter often made a madman of him, the former brought out that for which posterity has most esteemed him.

More respected the English language. "For as", he writes, "for that our tong is called barbarous, is but a fantasye... And if they would call it barayn of wordes, there is no doubte but it is plenteous enough to expresse our myndes in anye thing wherof one man hath used to speke with another."<sup>73</sup> There were already vast Germanic resources in the language, such as the vocabulary itself (including French words become native) and the methods of

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(72 continued) old language as our first principal prose writer; also as having been the first Englishman who wrote the history of his country in its present language.

Rev. W. H. Hutton (Sir Thomas More, p. 283) says it is not an error to consider More the founder of modern English literature.

Bremond (Le Bienheureux Thomas More, pp. 111 and 114) says of More: in the most serious subjects, neither in English nor in Latin, will one find him "ennuyeux".

H. Hallam considered Richard III the "first example of good English language: pure and perspicuous, well chosen, without vulgarisms and pedantry." (The Fame of Blessed Thomas More, p. 19).

Finally, from Ascham we read, "Sir Thomas More, in that pamphlet of Richard the Third, doth in most part, I believe, of all these points so content all men, as, if the rest of our story of England were so done, we might well compare with France, or Italy, or Germany in that behalf." (Ibid., p. 18).

<sup>73</sup> Delcourt, op. cit., p. 231. (Taken from More's Works, 1557 ed., P. 243H. 9ff.)





word-building; besides onomatopoeia, doublets (made up not alone of a Germanic and a Romance word but also of old and new Romance words), and hybrid compounds were well-known methods of addition and improvement.

More was conservative, however, as an improver, and in one place anticipated Ascham's objection to too much borrowing:

.....nimirum placet,  
Verbis tribus, si quid loquatur Gallicis,  
...Sic ergo linguam ille et Latinam Gallice,  
Et Gallice linguam sonat Britannicam... 74  
Et Gallice omnem, praeter unam Gallicam.

Here, as elsewhere, More does not really condemn the use but the abuse of French words. Time after time he affirms his respect for popular usage, which for him was the sole guide in the matter of language:

"...yf a word were taken out of Latin, Frenche, or Spanish, and were for lack of understanding of the tonge from whence it came, vsed for another thying in English then it was in the formere tounge: then signifyeth it in Englande none other thyng than as we vse it and vnderstande thereby, what so euer it sygnifye any where elles..." (1557 ed. of More's Works, P. 417B. 1ff.)

"...who so vse a common word spoken among the people, is rekened so to meane therein, as the common people meane that vse it.." (Ibid., P. 949F 1 ff.)<sup>75</sup>

This attitude of More calls forth two considerations. Since popular usage was always "accueillant aux mots d'or-

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 241. (Taken from More's Latin Works, p. 24r.)

<sup>75</sup> Loc. cit. (Taken from More's Works, 1557 ed., P. 949F. 1 ff.)



igine française", he was in a way pleading the cause of French words. Moreover, though he has much to say about these French importations, he is silent on the question of Latin. He was, however, allied to both the pagan and the Christian antiquities, and he wrote in Latin. He could not be, then, and was not, averse to neologisms from the Latin. His innovations were both "populaire et savante, bien qu'il n'ait affirme que la première."<sup>76</sup>

More's actual creation of roots in English does not extend beyond eight or ten in number.<sup>77</sup> New roots in borrowed words (absurdity, marmalade, paradox, etc.), new compounds (blockhead, hair-breadth, etc.), and derivatives are more numerous. In several cases he invents a new meaning for an old word (open applied to a character; faithful applied to a translation; etc.). One sees that More's professed admiration and respect for his language did not remain passive, for he undoubtedly left it better than he found it. He did not surcharge it with importations; the Latin element in his work is numerically very inferior. Though the English vocabulary became more complex with him, it did not lose in the process the beautiful unity realized before him. It is this discretion which makes him one of the most illustrious of our "mak-

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 242.

<sup>77</sup> Delcourt lists bumble, fleck, glade, himp, junper, peddle, and pule.



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ers of English".

In style More varies from the somewhat ornamental in Richard III to simplicity and directness — even a touch of necessary familiarity — in Four Last Things and the Confutacion. In addition to these characteristics, there is the good humor which one finds frequently in More. If his right to a place in English literature is actually questionable, it is nevertheless true that he was the only really creative artist of his generation, and as such his influence on the growth of the vernacular was at least as great as that of any of his contemporaries.

Linguistic developments were taking place in other circles than that of the major humanists. To mention a few individuals, there is first the poet, John Skelton, a "rude rayling rimer" in Puttenham's words. His translations of ancient authors, a part of the scholarly work that he did, are still in manuscript. Learning was a hindrance rather than a benefit to his writing, for what is not vulgar in his diction is pedantic.<sup>79</sup> Then there is Stephen Hawes, who illustrates how rapidly the English vocabulary was being swollen with French and Latin borrowings, and also what a close connection

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78 H. Bradley, The Making of English, 1904, p. 235.

79 Marsh, op. cit., pp. 511-2.



there is between rimed verse and a Romance vocabulary. In the fifth chapter of the "Passetyme of Pleasyre", thirteen stanzas have ninety-one lines, sixty-six of which lines rime in words of Latin or French origin, and three of which stanzas (5, 11, and 12) have not a single rime word of Anglo-Saxon derivation.<sup>80</sup> Hence he was destined to travel alone, for the Renaissance swept everything<sup>80</sup> its way and entirely displanted the old rhetoricians.

From the north of England and Scotland there came a linguistic influence not only from the folk ballads, which the Renaissance preserved and encouraged and through which the language of the folk and Scandinavian elements came to enrich English, but also from the Scottish poets of the period. Gavin Douglas, for example, wanted more in his translation of the Aeneid than a rendering for "'on-letterit folk'. He abandons, therefore, the 'haymly terms' of the Scotchman and expresses himself in a style and language more fitted to the dignity of the original."<sup>81</sup>

Even in drama one finds reflections of the new feeling. The Interlude of the Four Elements (c. 1520) opens with a plea for the author, who, though he may be ignorant, deserves some regard for his intent and good will.

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 515.

<sup>81</sup> Elizabeth Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets, 1919, p. 87.





The use of English for scholarly purposes is discussed, and it is lamented that formerly the language was used for only idle stories of love and war. There is also an opinion as to the extent to which "improvement" was advisable. The passage follows:

"...the author hereof requireth you all  
Though he be ignorant, and can little skill,  
To regard his only intent and good-will;  
Which in his mind hath oftentimes pondered,  
What number of books in our tongue maternal  
Of toys and trifles be made and imprinted,  
And few of them of matter substantial;  
For though many make books, yet unneth ye shall  
In our English tongue find any works  
Of cunning, that is regarded by clerks.  
The Greeks, the Romans, with many other mo,  
In their mother tongue wrote works excellent.  
Then if clerks in this realm would take pain so,  
Considering that our tongue is now sufficient  
To expound any hard sentence evident,  
They might, if they would, in our English tongue  
Write works of gravity sometime among;  
For divers pregnant wits be in this land,  
As well of noble men as of meane estate,  
Which nothing but English can understand.  
Then if cunning Latin books were translate  
Into English, well correct and approbate,  
All subtle science in English might be learned,  
As well as other people in their own tongues did.  
But now so it is, that in our English tongue  
Many one there is, that can but read and write,  
For his pleasure will oft presume among  
New books to compile and ballads to indite,  
Some of love or other matter not worth a mite;  
Some to obtain favor will flatter and glose,  
Some write curious terms nothing purpose.  
Thus every man after his fantasy  
Will write his conceit, be it never so rude,  
Be it virtuous, vicious, wisdom or folly;  
Wherefore to my purpose thus I conclude,  
Why should not then the author of this interlude  
Utter his own fantasy and conceit also?  
As well as divers other nowadays do?"<sup>82</sup>

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82 J.S. Farmer, Six Anonymous Plays, First Series, 1905. The Interlude of the Four Elements, 11, 12-49-



Marsh considers <sup>83</sup> Berners' translation of the Chronicles of Froissart (1st. vol., 1523; 2nd., 1525) the most important English work of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, both literarily and linguistically. From a literary standpoint, it is the first really important work printed in England relative to modern history, and probably inspired Holinshed and others. As to its language, it is a faithful translation, but it so closely adheres to the English idiom that it reads like an original work. Berners' orthography, which probably suffered at the hands of German and Dutch printers, is irregular and confused. His syntax shows many archaisms; his style is less advanced than even that of Pecock. Fisher wrote better than Berners did, but the difference between the two lay not in the superiority of theological over secular prose, but in the fact that Berners' life and reading had thrown him behind his time in language developments.

The most important single event in our period was the publication of Tyndale's New Testament in 1525. The church has always been a great force in fixing our speech, and in the early sixteenth century it had assumed an especially great significance. Foreign teachers wrote generally in Latin and their works were translated for the

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83 Op. cit., pp. 495-501.



laity. With the renewal of a thirst for knowledge these circumstances gave theology an important place. "Every man of education, every man who read at all, in fact, read theological books, and consequently there was, almost at once, a very considerable accession of Latin words to the vocabulary of English."<sup>84</sup> The first published Greek New Testament reached England from Basle in 1516. It was the Erasmus edition, done for the learned, and was to be followed soon by the success of a Luther and a Tyndale in translating it into the language of the people. As in France against Calvin, so in England against Tyndale the press was used as a combatting force and as, without being anticipated or wished for, a great power in favor of the vernacular. By 1534 Englishmen might even possess and read the English Bible, and were, as a matter of fact, better off in that respect than were the inhabitants of the Low Countries.

The importance of Tyndale's translation is unquestioned. Marsh says it "exerted a more marked influence upon English philology than any other native work between the ages of Chaucer and Shakespeare."<sup>85</sup> Sopp believes that "Als wichtigstes denkmal der englischen sprache aus der ersten h lfte des 16. jahrhunderts, vielleicht aus der ganzen zeit zwischen Chaucer und Shake-

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<sup>84</sup> Marsh, op. cit., p. 507.

<sup>85</sup> Op. cit., 505-6.



spere...., das einen gewaltigen einfluss auf die englische sprache und literatur ausgeübt hat, ist sie dazu von grossem philologischen werte."<sup>86</sup> And Guppy holds that "Its [the New Testament of Tyndale] influence on our language has been such that the very character of our national speech has been tempered by it, and everywhere around us we catch echoes of the phraseology of our national Bible." Tyndale's language is that of the common people, "at once simple, homely, picturesque, and racy." Nearly a hundred years before Shakespeare, Tyndale demonstrated the power of the English language "to express the highest truths in the clearest manner with simplicity and with grace."<sup>87</sup> His sincerity made him scorn Fisher's "oratory" and More's "painted poetry, babbling eloquence."<sup>88</sup>

Tyndale unconsciously followed both phonetic and etymological spelling. He frequently doubled long vowels, and followed short vowels with doubled consonants. His vocabulary shows the changing of some Romance words (certain certen; marvayle marvel; etc.) by applying the Germanic accent to these words. In the 1535 edition, the last edition prepared by Tyndale himself, long a

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<sup>86</sup> W. Sopp, "Orthographie und Aussprache der Ersten Neuenglischen Bibelübersetzung von William Tyndale," Anglia, XII, 273-4.

<sup>87</sup> Henry Guppy, William and the Early Translators of the Bible into English, p. 6, (1925).

<sup>88</sup> G.H. McKnight, op. cit., p. 115.





and long o of the other editions appear as ae and oe, respectively. This looks like either the work of Dutch printers, or, which is more likely, Tyndale's insistence that long a was no longer pronounced /ā/ (as in A.S. hām).<sup>89</sup> His use of common words called forth from Bishop Gardner of Winchester (published 1542) a list of 102 Latin words (among them peccator, and panis) which he thought should be kept in English versions of the Bible "for the dignity of the matter in them contained."<sup>90</sup> In spite of the attacks and the certainty that a century later the translation would have been done more accurately, Tyndale achieved a high degree of beauty, force, and purity of expression.

A word needs to be said in closing about the schools and the part they were playing in the new movement. The universities, ultimately to be the stronghold of the New Learning, were slow in taking to it. Grammar Schools, however, showed immediate favorable response. Lily, who had learned Greek in the Levant, became the first master of St. Paul's School in 1500; about twenty-two grammar schools were established within as many years after that date. Now English had been ordered taught in such public schools in the fourteenth century,<sup>91</sup> and there is

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89 See N&Q., VII, 30, 129-30.

90 F.L.K. Oliphant, The New English, 1886, I, 422.

91 See the quotation from Trevisa on p. 59, footnote 47.



expressed complaint, from Trevisa through Tyndale, More, and Elyot, that masters of grammar schools were almost ignorant of Latin. Under such circumstances there must have been English grammars of some sort during that century and a half, but we have no record of them. So far as we know, Palsgrave's French grammar, written for Princess Mary and printed in 1530, was the first grammatical treatise in English. Written in English and illustrating French by English, it must have been a great boon to English grammatical study. Palsgrave's view of logical and syntactical structure was based on one of the Greek grammars in vogue; since that was true it is only natural that it should have introduced into English the Latin grammatical nomenclature, and helped to establish philological opinions more in harmony with the ancient inflected languages than with the modern uninflected languages.<sup>92</sup> In the meantime, the rulers of England were in the van in this interest in education. Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, established professorships at Cambridge and Oxford and was later helped by her son in her educational policy. Henry VIII was truly representative of the new spirit. It was under him that the classical influence began

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<sup>92</sup> These remarks on schools have been based on Marsh, op. cit., pp. 508-10. See the Bibliography for books on English schools and education in the sixteenth century.



to be exerted in large measure on English literature, and he himself has been called the "most highly educated person for his time who ever sat on the throne of England."<sup>93</sup>

We have found in the first half of the sixteenth century an expansion into new realms geographically and intellectually, a clearer recognition of the treasures of other peoples, and with that a rising sense of individuality among men and nations. These things were paralleled in linguistic growth by a more intense study of other languages, particularly the classics, and a strengthened effort in favor of the vernaculars. All the chief countries of Europe took these steps in their own peculiar way, England, as usual, being something more of a melting pot for all the elements than any other country. Blame was placed on English (as on other native speeches) because of a paucity of words for ideas or shades of meaning, barbarousness, and inelegance. To be added to this were the inconsistencies in form and orthography, which printing was naturally doing much to eradicate. Elyot's mentioning the necessity of having nurses speak very correctly before children is evidence that the written word had come to be the guide, the model for pronunciation, and not the pronunciation

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93 McKnight, op. cit., p. 91.



for the writing as formerly.

The two great conflicts of the period in England, which caused a greater degree of compromise than would have occurred in their absence, were the Reformation and the internal disagreement over the methods of linguistic improvement — the improvist-purist controversy. The first came directly across the path of classical learning. Originally the new movement gave a stimulus to Latin and Greek as the languages of science and theology, respectively. But chief attention was soon drawn away from language and given more and more to theological matters. In that way schisms resulted which led to the dissolution of monasteries and a sudden shock to learning. Books were destroyed; numerous schools attacked to religious houses vanished; the two great universities lost a considerable number of students, and higher education suffered. "Greek, which had been brilliantly taught since the end of the fifteenth century, almost ceased, for a long period, to be studied."<sup>94</sup> Latin also came to be held in less regard, so that Elyot, in the thirties, and Ascham and Wilson, in the forties and fifties, deplored the slight knowledge of Latin among students and the indifference of their parents toward their learning.

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94 Legouis, op. cit., p. 137.





The second great conflict comes only slightly in the written expression of our period. The notable purists — Cheek, Ascham, Wilson, — are in the generation after Elyot. Yet we have seen that More expressed himself forcefully against the Anglais gallomane; and Elyot was thrown into a defense of his "improvements" as early as 1534.

In spite of these halts and handicaps, the study of the classics, together with the great influx of words from them, remains the outstanding fact in the language history of the Renaissance. Translations were becoming  
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more and more numerous, and they naturally brought about a great increase in importations into the vocabulary. At first there had been a considerable waste of energy in translating Greek into Latin, which activity served only to improve the translator's knowledge of the two languages, and established the impression that only the matter of Greek and not the literary beauty of the language was its title to greatness. Broadly speaking, the humanists can claim nothing higher than having inspired individuals who could better use and apply classical learning than they themselves. Unfortunately

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95 F.M.K. Foster, (English Translations from the Greek: Bibliographical Survey., N.Y., 1918.) made a table of translations from the Greek. These translations to the year 1600 are quoted below:



English prose was not ready to make most of the new acquisitions. It was behind the French and only just ahead of the German; and English poetry, also, was pitifully eclipsed and disorganized. The Renaissance was the time when English availed itself of the great reserve fund of Latin, which had lain at its disposal throughout the Middle Ages. The same influence is conspicuous in all European languages, but with the exception of French it was stronger in English than in any other language. The fact is not "principally due to any greater zeal for classical learning on the part of the English than of other nations. The reason seems rather to be, that the natural power of resistance possessed by a Germanic tongue against these alien intruders had been already broken in the case of the English language by the wholesale importation of French words."<sup>96</sup> The French words paved the way for Latin;

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(95 continued)	New	Reprints	Total
1481-1490	1	0	1
1491-1500	0	1	1
1501-1510	0	0	0
1511-1520	0	0	0
1521-1530	4	0	4
1531-1540	8	5	13
1541-1550	6	3	9
1551-1560	5	4	9
1561-1570	12	2	14
1571-1580	11	6	17
1581-1590	8	5	13
1591-1600	14	6	20

<sup>96</sup> Otto Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language, 1926, pp. 115-116.



if French was "distinguished", Latin was more so, for didn't the French themselves borrow from the Latin?

It was in the midst of such a state of affairs that Thomas Elyot made his bow as a writer in 1531. It is the distinguishing mark of his work that he was the first to show the possibility of speaking philosophically in English as well as in Latin, that he was the first to apply the Renaissance spirit to the English language, that he undertook more deliberately and extensively than any other Englishman of his half-century the task of making his mother tongue a fitting and respected vehicle of expression.

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### CHAPTER III

#### Elyot's Linguistic Interests and Activities

If Thomas Elyot has not been the subject of research and criticism as frequently as some of his contemporaries, who with him witnessed and aided the rise of learning in the sixteenth century, it is because the nature of his books did not place him in the first rank as a writer, and because he did not take a prominent part — that is, he did not get himself frequently before the attention of the public — in the battles and movements of the day. He was a combination of leisurely scholar and pioneer. "In questionists I neuer delighted," he wrote to Cromwell.<sup>1</sup> Others — More, Colet, Tyndale, Erasmus, and, after Elyot, Ascham — threw themselves into the movement energetically. Battles over the editing of manuscripts, and over the pronunciation of the ancient languages, philosophical disputes with regard to the interpretation, application, and practice of religion, stubborn fights between liberals and conservatives that cost the heads of many of England's worthies — all these, it

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<sup>1</sup> See John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 1822, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 229.





seems, our author avoided successfully, managing to keep the somewhat even tenor of his way. Erasmus and More, who with Colet were the chief figures in sixteenth century humanism, opened new territory for thought and led the minds of Englishmen into large, prominent, and lasting matters; but Elyot contributed no outstanding piece of original philosophy and is today honored with no such attention and study as we find given to his friends, the prominent humanists. Elyot was no martyr to any cause, and we have no reason to believe that we have in him a colossal or super-acute intellect. In his way he was choosing that method of expending his energies which most completely satisfied his longing and made him content in his occupation. Several things he did were of real worth, and, as we shall see during the course of our study, he has received all too little credit for his gifts. All his life he was a scholar, who, what with the handicap of his various public duties, came only late in life to the gratification of his scholarly interests. When he did it was the easy approach, unruffled, unhurried, that he took. "As I late vvas serching among my bokes, to finde some argument, in the Readinge wherof I mought recreate my spirites..." — thus he began his Preface to the Image of Gouvernaunce. The refreshing piece that he found was Isocrates' account of the noble acts and sentences of Alexander. The treasures of



Greek and Latin were to be had for the getting, and he wanted to get them; besides, these treasures were to be shared and made accessible — in the words of the nineteenth-century humanists, made to prevail — and Elyot, realizing how necessary this task was and how binding the duty, was anxious, above all else, to assure this phase of complete culture to himself and his countrymen. As we have said, he got about as far with this program as any Englishman could in the 30's and 40's of his century.<sup>2</sup> He was a leader, but, because of the extent to which his subject matter and linguistic interests were popular all over Europe in his time, the traces of his influence, both contemporary and subsequent, are difficult to follow.

This English Renaissance was manifesting itself about Elyot's time in three kinds of activity. There

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<sup>2</sup> H.O. Taylor (Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century, 1920), calls Elyot a "well read Latinist". His difficulty came in the attempt to impart his educational policy to others, for he found the scholar was not always held in high esteem; there were some, he wrote (Gouverneur, p. 49), "which, without shame, dare affirme, that to a great gentelman it is a notable reproche to be well lerned and to be called a great clerke". (Cf. the Renaissance conception of a "gentleman and a scholar"). The negligence of parents was to some extent to blame for this condition, for they were satisfied that their sons learn grammar only, not bothering themselves about "mater or sentence" (Gouverneur, pp. 53-4). In addition there were but "fewe good gramariens," those who could, if they were allowed the opportunity, teach both the rules of Latin grammar and the appreciation and thorough understanding of authors (Gouverneur,



was, first, the new study of the ancients, Latin and Greek. We have already commented on Elyot's manner of shunning the various conflicts that arose inevitably with the advance of the New Learning, a manner or habit which led to a kind of cloistered preparation of his books. To this we would add some knowledge of his acquaintance or familiarity with cultural leaders of his generation and of his education, particularly his reading. Some information concerning the inspiring contacts he made, particularly during early life, and the extent to which he discussed or corresponded with his contemporaries on matters literary would be an invaluable contribution to the study of Elyot. That he was a friend of More we know, and we have bits of his correspondence with Thomas Cromwell. He says in the preface to the Image of Gouvernaunce that that book was translated from one "first written in the greke tung" and by good fortune "lente unto me by a gentille man of Naples called Pudericus." Moreover, he was at least personally acquainted with Henry VIII, a fact we learn from his discussion (in the Proheme to the Castel of Helth) of the king's reception of the Gouvernour, and from the communications between these two men

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(2 continued) Chap. XV). One finds also (to mention only one of the professions) a long chapter (Gouvernour, Chap. XIV) on the barbarity of the language of the laws and the poor preparation of law students.



before and during the preparation of Elyot's Dictionarie.<sup>3</sup>  
We are Told<sup>4</sup> that before he was twenty years of age he  
had a good reading knowledge of and acquaintance with  
Latin, Greek, and Italian; he did not, however, know  
Spanish.<sup>5</sup> We have proof that he did have a mastery of  
the first three sooner or later, because his Gouvernour  
is modeled on Italian sources, and his bibliography in-  
cludes a little Latin and translations from both Latin  
and Greek. The acquaintance with Latin/calls forth no  
remark, but his pieces from the Greek remind us that  
not for long had that ancient language been revived (un-  
der the hands of such teachers as Grocyn and Linacre).  
Of all his published works the Castel of Helth and the  
Gouvernour, better than any others, reveal his vast read-  
ing and the use of classical knowledge that he was mak-  
ing as early as 1530. Before him there had been a study  
of the ancients and an occasional translation or imita-  
tion, such as More's translation of the life of Pico  
della Mirandola and the new return to Greek and Hebrew

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<sup>3</sup> See the account of Elyot by J.W.H.Aitkins in the Cambridge History of English Literature, vol. III, p. 23; also the Preface (to Henry VIII) to Elyot's Dictionarie.

<sup>4</sup> See more on this point on pp. 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> In the dedicatory epistle (to Henry VIII) of his Dictionarie (1538), Elyot praises the learning and diligence of Nebressensis, but complains that "because in his dictionarie wordes are expounded in the spainyshe tunge whiche I do not understand, I can not of hym shewe myn opinion."





manuscripts as the true bases for vernacular versions of the Bible; but it may not be wrong to say that no Englishman before Elyot had entered upon so extensive a program of personal enlightenment in the ancient civilizations and of bringing to his fellows the new-found treasures.

The second type of Renaissance endeavor had to do with religion. Elyot had very little to say, as we know him through his writings, about religion per se, for he was chiefly concerned with the first and third phases of the revival — that is, with the study of the classics and the interest in language. He was not a rabid religionist, but was pleasantly firm;<sup>6</sup> it may be most accurate to say of him that his was the sixteenth-century religion, which was much more Hellenistic than Europe had seen for centuries. Of his three religious pieces, the Rules of a Christian Lyfe was more likely the off-shoot of a general and intense interest in Pico than of any deep religious fervor. The others, the Preservative agaynste Deth and the Swete and Devoute Sermon, are more sincerely religious, and in these there looms up a moderate reading acquaintance with the church fathers.

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6 "And all thoughe I do neither dyspute nor expounde holy scripture, yet in suche warkes as I haue and intend to sette forth, my poore talent shall be, God willinge, in such wise bestowed, that no mannes conscience shalbe ther-



With the third of these three types we come to the object of our labors with Elyot: the problems of language. We have seen<sup>7</sup> that nationalism was a prominent feature of linguistic development. England, naturally in a position conducive to the growth of a national pride and spirit, was forging far ahead of her neighbors in the continent-wide development of that spirit. Henry VIII's policies in state and church affairs added to the feeling. Of especial importance was the more rapid and extensive bustle in the field of education, attending the widening of the horizons of study and the highly augmented program of enlarging the number of participants therein. In connection with this, we are aware of the great difficulty which educators had in conducting their program in Latin, the language of learning. Englishmen were transacting all the business of their daily lives in English; it was only through that medium that the desired ends could be attained. Under these circumstances

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(6 continued ) with offended.." (Image of Gouvernaunce, Preface 6b). To the Bible he tendered the usual very high regard: "This little booke (whiche in mine opinion) is to be compared in coūsaile and short sentence with any booke, holy scripture excepted,..." (Doctrinal of Princēs, Foreword to the reader). Finally, he wanted his books properly interpreted, desiring that the type of thing he was doing be in no sense considered irreligious: "And in none of these warkes I dare undertake, a man shall finde any sentence against the cōmandmentes of god, the trewe catholyke faythe, or occasion to sterve men to wanton deuises." (Image of Gouvernaunce, Preface).

<sup>7</sup> Chap. I, pp. 51-4.



of nationalism and education, there was an inevitable conflict between the ancients and the moderns, which in the linguistic realm became a question of the extent to which one might improve not only oneself but also one's language by borrowings from and imitations of the old speeches, both foreign and native.

The body of Elyot's writing is of first importance as a manifestation of his connection with linguistic matters. Primarily he was an educator, the role in which he is usually studied. It was, however, no easy task or one that went free from strong difficulties, to be a teacher in those days; when he joined forces with the rising movement to extend education to women, he was met for many years with the retort that "good women" were "hardly found, and easily defended."<sup>8</sup> But the author of those words of adverse criticism was inclined to praise Elyot's Dictionary, for he says, "I know not which more to wonder at, that they (the many learned Clergy-men of his time) mist, or he hit on so necessary a subject." As to the general state of education in the sixteenth century, one finds almost universally a weak and unenergetic system when the separation between church and schools began. Erasmus and his contemporaries found just such a state of affairs; they immediately set about to improve

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<sup>8</sup> Fuller, Thomas, History of the Worthies of England, 1811, I; 176-7.



the schools and universities, succeeding in the end in displacing the spiritual by a civil education — raising Latin, Greek, and Hebrew to a place alongside the Bible in the curriculum. It was in the wake of such men as Grocyn, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives that Elyot came. Hence he deserves praise; having thoroughly based his program on and supported himself by respected authorities, his aims and accomplishments were not then or now to be belittled. We may not consider the program ideal or complete today, for, to mention only one of its shortcomings, it was rather greatly limited, after all, in the extent to which it reached all men,<sup>9</sup> but it was a step forward,

On the more specific point of education of the youth of the land, Elyot has much to say. He believed in the careful and steady process, the "milke for babes" theory. The brain of a little child is easily overcome, "lyke as a lyttel fyre is sone quenched with a great heape of small stickes."<sup>10</sup> He was the first in England to treat sport and

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9 In the Gouverneur, (particularly in the first book) the emphasis is always on the "noble mannes sonne." This narrowness was even more true in female education. Though Elyot, and Ascham after him, strongly supported it (Defence of Good Women, chap. I, and Scholemaster, chap. II), their eyes were on the aristocracy only. Ascham's chief educational activity was centered around the royal family, about Elizabeth, the future queen, especially. It was not until Mulcaster came along that there was a major effort to educate the women of the people.

10 Gouverneur p. 35. A passage in the Castel of Helth on the diet of aged men, offers an interesting comparison at this point: "Alway remembre, that aged men shuld eate often, and but lyttell at euery tyme, for it fareth by theym, as it dothe by a lampe, whiche is almooste extincte, whiche





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exercise from the pedagogical point of view. As important as these things are, the most significant thing for the purposes of this study is his concern over the teaching of language. In the first place, he explains the necessity for beginning early the education of English children. Several passages expound this advice and map out a program for those responsible for children.

"Some olde autours holde oppinion that, before the age of seuen yeres, a chylde shulde not be instructed in letters; but those writers were either grekes or latines, amonge whom all doctrine and sciences were in their maternall tonges; by reason wherof they saued all that longe tyme whiche at this dayes is spente in understandyng perfectly the greke or latyne. Wherefore it requireth nowe a longer tyme to the understandyng of bothe. Therefore that infelicitie of our tyme and countray compelleth us to encroche some what upon the yeres of children, and specially of noblemen, that they may sooner attayne to wisdome and grauitie than priuate persones, consideryng, as I haue saide, their charge and example, whiche, aboue all thynges, is most to be esteemed."  
(Gouernour, p. 21).

"But there can be nothyng more conuenient than by little and litle to trayne and exercise them children, before the age of seven and there about in spekyng of latyne: infourmyng them to knowe first the names in latine of all thynges that cometh in syghte, and to name all the partes of theyr bodies: and gyuyng them

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(10 continued) by pouryng in of oyle lyttell and lyttell, is longe kept bournynge: and with moche oyle poured in at ones, it is cleane put out." (Castel of Helth, fol. 41b).

11 Gouernour, I, Chaps. XVI-XXVII. Of especial importance in connection with Ascham is I Chap. XXVII, on shooting with the bow. Mulcaster, through long experience, finally put into practice the fundamentals of Elyot and Ascham.



some what that they couete or desyre, in most gentyl maner to teache them to aske it agayne in latine. And if by this meanes they may be induced to understande and speke latine: it shall afterwarde by lasse grefe to them, in a maner, to lerne any thing, where they understande the langage wherein it is writen. And, as touchynge grammere, there is at this day better introductions, and more facile, than ever before were made, concernyng as wel greke as latine, if they be wisely chosen." pp 21-2.

"....hit shall be expedient that a noble mannes sonne, in his infancie, haue with hym continually onely suche as may accustome hym by litle and litle to speake pure and elegant latin. Semblably the nourises and other women aboute hym, if it be possible, to do the same: or, at the leste way, that they speke none englisshe but that which is cleane, polite, perfectly and articulately pronounced, omittinge no lettre or sillable, as folisshe women often times do of a wantonnesse, wherby diuers noble men and gentilmennes chyl dren, (as I do at this daye knowe), haue attained corrupte and foule pronuntiation." pp. 22-3.

In such passages the emphasis is constantly on the early instruction of children in a speaking and reading acquaintance with Latin and Greek. A nobleman's son, whose opportunities are more fortunate, may "as sone speke good Latin, as he maye do pure frenche..."<sup>12</sup> This was one of the points on which he, and later Ascham, disagreed with the humanists. The latter insisted on burdening the beginner with many rules, but Elyot required very few; he stressed the importance of<sup>13</sup> teaching Latin first as a conversational instrument only. Moreover, equally as important is the fact that he did not

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<sup>12</sup>Gouvernour, p. 35.

<sup>13</sup> The best comparative study of Elyot, Ascham, and Mulcaster as educators is by Benndorf, C., Die englische



in the meantime, leave himself open to attack on the score of neglecting the study of the mother tongue; that he advocated a first approach to a scientific study of language in English and about English. "After that the childe hathe ben pleasantly trained," he writes, "and induced to knowe the partes of speche, and can separate one of them from an other, in his owne langage, it shall than be time that his tutor or gouvernour do make diligent serche for suche a maister as is excellently l<sup>14</sup> lerned both in greke and latine..." It is with this grammatical foundation in English, then, that the gentleman proceeds to "lerne greke and latine autors both at one time: orels to begyn with greke, for as moche as that it is hardest to come by: by reason of the diuersite of tonges, which be fyue in nombre: and all must be knownen, or elles uneth any poet can be well understande."<sup>15</sup> Greek should be studied three years, Latin being used in the meantime "as a familiar langage." The youth should be taught rhetoric also, "either in greke, out of Hermogines, or of Quintilian in latine."<sup>16</sup> For the accomplishment of

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(13 continued) Pädagogik im 16 Jahrhundert, Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, v. 22 (1905). Bendorff points out that Ascham requires more rules in early instruction than Elyot does, and postpones speaking until greater proficiency in writing is acquired; that the core of Ascham's methods was the "schriftlichen Retroversion" of Latin and Greek authors.

14 Gouvernour, p. 32-3.

15 Ibid., p. 34 ( + 35 ).

16 Ibid., p. 41.



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such a program Elyot relied, first, upon wise masters,  
 men "of sobre and vertuous disposition, specially chast  
 of liuyng, and of moche affabilitie and patience"; se-  
 cond, upon good grammars. If there was any chance for  
 disappointment as to the first, he certainly found no  
 lack of the second.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to commenting frequently and extensively  
 on education, Elyot demonstrates his linguistic interests  
 through his educational program in the whole body of his  
 writing. Already in this paper<sup>20</sup> the groups into which  
 his works fall have been noted, and it will suffice now,  
 in that regard, only to point out the range of topics  
 which these writings cover. Of the fifteen items in his  
 known bibliography,<sup>21</sup> five are strictly educational. The  
Gouernour is to instruct men "in suche vertues as shalbe  
 expediēt for them, which shal haue authority in a wele  
 publike;"<sup>22</sup> the Education or Bringing up of Children is  
 designed to make men and women "wel worthy to be fathers  
 and mothers;"<sup>23</sup> the Doctrinal of Princes will induce "into

17 Ibid., Chapter ix.

18 Ibid., p. 32.

19 In one place (Gouernour, p. 54 or 55) he speaks  
 of Greek grammars as being innumerable. Cf. also p. 8  
 above, the end of the quotation from Gouernour, p. 33.

20 P. 10 ff.

21 See the discussion of the De Rebus Mem. Angliae  
 below.

22 Preface to the Image of Gouvernaunce, 1541 edition.  
 See also C. Bennforf and Croft on the nature, history, and  
 sources of the Gouernour.

23 Loc. cit.





noble mens wittes honest opinions;"<sup>24</sup> the Defence of Good Women foūdeth villainous report" and "teachith good woves to know well their dueties;"<sup>25</sup> the Image of Gouvernance, if read sincerely, was to be a "true paterne, whereby they may princes shape all their procedinges."<sup>26</sup> All except one of these addresses the ruling classes. The Renaissance delight over personal essays — that is, essays on personal relations — was satisfied in Howe one may take profite of his Enymes, The Maner to Chose and Cherysshe a Frende, and Pasquill the Playne (on flattery). Religion gets three items: The Swete and Devoute Sermon, the Rules, and the Preservative agaynste Deth. In connection with both religion and the popular demand for books of wisdom we find, early in Elyot's literary career, the Bankette of Sapience ("not fastidiouse, and in title rome shewith out of holy scripture many wise sentences"<sup>27</sup>) and Of the Knowledge which maketh a Wise Man (containing the office of a good coūcellour"<sup>28</sup>) Two remain, both more important than any of the preceding works, excepting only the Gouvernour. The Castel of Helth was written to popularize and spread a knowledge of medicine and the care of

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24 Loc. cit.

25 Loc. cit.

26 Loc. cit.

27 Loc. cit.

28 Loc. cit.



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the body; the Dictionary was his effort to supply the English people with a means of bridging the gap before which they found themselves, of availing themselves of the culture of the ancients at the same time that they were improving their native speech and themselves in the

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use of it. Roger Ascham added one item to this bibliography: "Sir Thomas Elyot, knight, had a worcke in hand which he nameth De Rebus Memorabilibus Anglie" for which "he had read and perused ouer many olde monumētes of Englande" including "an exceedyng olde cronicle" of "kyng Vortigers dayes": Toxophilus, ed. by J.A. Giles, 1864, p. 77. He is said to have had this in hand in 1544.

It is unfound and unknown except for this reference of Ascham's. If it was contemplated it was to be the author's last contribution to the establishment of England and Englishmen in their place in the world. In addition to touching upon so many phases of enlightenment, Elyot attempted to tie up and correlate his work by a number of cross references, one of which may be found in the Castel of Helth, fol. 65b; another is in the Preface to the Dictionary (1538), where he speaks of perfect instructors as necessary to a good understanding of Latin, and reminds the reader that he has declared eight years be-

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29 This book went through nine editions by 1610.

30 The Dictionary receives a fuller discussion below on p. 119 ff.



fore, in the Gouvernour, that such perfect instructors were hard to come by. The most notable is in the Preface to the Image of Gouvernaunce, from which the comments just above (p. 102) on his various works have been taken. In only one instance does he hesitate to popularize a bit of information, a hesitance growing very likely out of deference to public taste as to what should be printed: it is in the Castel of Helth (fols. 63b-64a) that he says "Concerynge other eucauations, I do purposely omytte to write of them in this place, for as moche as in this realme, it hath ben accompted not honest, to declare theym in the vulgare tongue, but onely secretely."

As a corollary to Elyot's role as educator is the fact that he strove to enlighten Englishmen in English; and that he wanted to reach a greater number of his countrymen than had theretofore been included in educational programs. One notes, in this connection, that the only Latin which has come to us from Elyot's pen is the Dedicatory Epistle to Cromwell and the Prefaces to the reader in his Dictionary; all else he did in English. For this service he has frequently received praise.

<sup>31</sup>  
Strype eulogizes him for having "devoted these latter years of his life in writing discourses for the public

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<sup>31</sup> Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 242-3.



good, and for promoting true wisdom and virtue among his countrymen. He had from his younger years a great desire after knowledge, and an earnest affectation of being beneficial to his country." From Anthony à Wood<sup>32</sup> one reads: "He was a very good grammarian, Grecian, poet, and philosopher, physician, and what not, to compleat a gentleman. He was admired by, and beloved of scholars, and his memory was celebrated by them in their respective works, particularly by Leland his contemporary. The truth is, his learning in all kinds of knowledge brought much honour to all the gentry and nobility of England." Likewise, Professor Aitkins<sup>33</sup> mentions Thomas Elyot and Thomas Wilson as two of "those who, following Erasmus, strove to make use of the writings of antiquity for the instruction and edification of their contemporaries," adding that "If Erasmus popularized the classical renaissance for scholars, Elyot rendered it accessible to the mass of the people who had no acquaintance with the language of antiquity." A reading of Elyot's books reveals numerous direct assertions of this interest. For example<sup>34</sup>, in the Gouverneur he takes "so moche tyme of the reder to renewe the remembraunce therof in our Englysshe tunge"; later<sup>35</sup> we find him joyous over Cax-

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32 Athenae Axonienses, ed. 1813, Vol. I, p. 151.

33 CHEL, Vol. III, pp. 23-5.

34 P. 274.

35 P. 284-5.





ton's having presented his Game of the Chesse "in eng-  
lisshe"; in the Preface to the Doctrinal of Princes he  
expresses his desire to see if English might "receive  
the quicke and propre sentences pronouned by the Greekes";  
finding it more satisfactory than the Latin; the same  
book he has translated so that those who "do not under-  
stande greeke nor latine, shoulde not lacke the commedi-  
tie and pleasure, whiche maie be taken in readyng therof;"  
he has applied his diligence to the translating of the  
Image of Gouvernaunce so that "mo men mought understande  
it;"<sup>36</sup> finally, he speaks of Solon, Aristides, Phocion,  
etc," whose lyues I wold to god were in Englyshe."<sup>37</sup> In  
general one may say that his work has "an English qual-  
ity and vitality of its own, gained from the personal  
experience, and indeed springing from the personality  
of its worthy author."<sup>38</sup>

Throughout such quotations from Elyot it is inev-  
itably remarked that he brought both original and trans-  
lated learning to the English language. Plutarch\* and  
Isocrates he rendered at length into English, and the  
list of Latin and Greek authors whose wisdom is incor-  
porated into his books is of exceedingly great length.  
Frequently he found the originals "verely elegante, and

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<sup>36</sup> See the Preface to the Image.

<sup>37</sup> Loc.cit.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor, H. O., Thought and Expression in the  
Sixteenth Century, 1920, Vol. I, pp. 16-7.



therefore the harder to trāslate into our language" <sup>39</sup> but consistently he assayed to conform the style of the original "with the phrase of our englishe deisringe more to make it playne to all readers, than to flourishe it with ouer moch eloquence." <sup>40</sup>

A policy and procedure of this kind is not destined to continue free from opposition, and Elyot was no exception to the rule. As it was said above, he did not join heatedly in battles; nevertheless, he was in several; and the marvel to us is that he joined in the fight so seldom, so infrequently rising to his own defense.

Elyot defends the rendering of Latin comedies into English, against the opposition that they corrupted minds, by the argument that, if so, "not onely entreludes in englisshe, but also sermones, wherin some vice is declared, shulde by to the beholders and herers like occasion to encrease sinners." <sup>41</sup> In the second place, he raised a big furor among physicians by writing and publishing his Castel of Helth, an opposition with which he seemed to be faced as late as 1541. <sup>42</sup> Physicians attacked him violently for entering a field in which he was not an authority, and for discussing in the vernacular, contrary to all tradition, a subject which was to be broached in the "professional" language only. Elyot rose to his

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39 Preface to A Swete and Devoute Sermon.

40 Preface to the Image.

41 Gouvernour, p. 58.

42 See Preface to the Image.



defense in the third edition of the Castel, 1) proving his preparedness and ability to write on the matter, 2) showing the universal value of such knowledge, and 3) contesting the physicians' practice of writing of physic in "some particuler language, with a strange cypher or forme of letters,..... whiche language or letters no manne should haue knowen that had not professed and practised physicke."<sup>43</sup>

Among the writings of Elyot there are very few efforts toward pure artistry. If they are approached with that in mind, they are disappointing. Almost entirely they bear the stamp of a practical, educational purpose, and consequently they serve not merely to spread knowledge, but indirectly to develop and popularize the English speech and to argue in its defense. Up to this point the indirect linguistic activity of these writings has been treated, and it now remains to be pointed out how Elyot was specifically interested in the problem of language and expressed himself thereupon. Never were his interest and curiosity satisfied within the bounds of that problem only -

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43 This defense is taken up twice in the second pro-  
heme (second edition of 1541) of the Castel, and may be  
found on pages 264-7 of this study. Elyot cannot be called  
a fanatic in the matter of trespassing on the fields of  
the profession. Several times in the Castel he submits  
to physicians for final and more detailed knowledge. As  
to the matter of writing in English, he was likewise some-  
what conservative: the laws, for instance, might be made  
more exact and compendious "either in Englishshe, latine,  
or good french." (Gouernour, p. 64).



at one place he asserts his disapproval of such a limitation in the words "who that hath nothings but langage onle may be no more praised than a popiniay, a pye, or a stare, whan they speke featly."<sup>44</sup> At the same time, the language of his writing was yet crude; he was doing a bold thing to use it, and it was necessary for him to justify that use and to make his contribution toward its improvement.

The general problem of language — its origin, nature, and growth — interested him very little; it is not until two centuries after his day that those questions received the attention which nowadays makes them seem inevitable and indispensable considerations. Once, when speaking of the word fides, he writes that "to hym that shall eyther speke or wryte, the place is diligently to be observed where the propre signification of the worde may be beste expressed."<sup>45</sup> And following this there is the only instance of Elyot's mentioning the nature of a word (a borrowed thought even here): "consyderynge (as Plato sayethe) that the name of euery thyng is none other but the vertue or effecte of the same thinge conceyued firste in the mynde, and than by the voyce expressed and finally in letters signified." Such a slight and borrowed

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44 Gouernour, pp. 54-5

45 Gouernour, p. 211.





reflection need bother us no more than it bothered Elyot; it is worthwhile noting only that in the opinion which he accepted and left without elaboration, the creation of words was a highly conscious act, and was in no way the result of instinctive and accidental vocalizations. In one, and only one, more place Elyot touches on the problem of the nature of a language: "... I dare affirm that, if the elegant speking of latin be nat added to other doctrine, litle frute may come of the tunge; sens latine is but a naturall speche, and the frute of speche is wyse sentence, which is gathered and made of sondry lernyn<sup>46</sup>ges." The "naturall speche" phrase is the interesting one. Whether or not classical Latin, as well as vulgar Latin, actually was a natural tongue is not the question here; what Elyot meant by a "naturall speche" cannot be determined with any great amount of accuracy; it must suffice to note that he did consider Latin as one of the practical and speakable languages. This view carried over into his defense of English for Englishmen.

An explanation of Elyot's intense interest in the rise of his native speech must come in the main from indirect and inferred material, rather than from any elabor-

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<sup>46</sup> Gouvernour, p.54. Dante did not consider Latin a "natural" speech, nor did the English grammarians of the latter half of the sixteenth century. They thought of languages as being first "vulgar" and later artificially elegant.



ate assertions from him. His Dictionarie was avowedly for that purpose. In the Proheme to the Castel of Helth, where the greatest volume of his self-defense is found, he replies to the complaints of physicians, saying that if they were angry because he had written of medicine in English "let them remember that the grekes wrate in greke, the Romains in latin, Auicenna and the other in Arabic, whiche were their own proper and maternall tongues." Here one finds the only instance of his directly submitting the feeling of nationalism as the motivation of his program. This passage, however, together with all the more indirect evidence of his strong national feeling, is sufficient to establish patriotism as one of his chief motives, if not his chief; in almost every account of Elyot from Leland to the present day he is extolled for his anxiety to raise the importance of his mother tongue, his services to his countrymen, his glorification of English and Englishmen. To mention only one comment of that sort, G.H.McKnight considers Elyot as having shifted the emphasis from the study of English as a mere instrument in the study of Latin to the glorification of English itself. All this is true, of course, but it is quite an error to suppose that Elyot was the originator of that change. It was becoming more or less common in England; besides, it

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47 Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De rebus Britannicus Collectaneorum, ed. 1774, Vol. III, p. 141.

48 Modern English in the Making, 1928.

49 See above, pp. 48-87.



was to be found prevalent in the countries of the continent as well. Italy and France had heard and were hearing the same arguments as those put forward by Elyot for having written on medicine in the vernacular. We have<sup>50</sup> already seen that Lorenzo de Medici<sup>51</sup> and Bembo had contended that Greek, Latin, and Hebrew were once in use as speaking and writing media only because they were the maternal tongues of Greece, Rome, and Palestine, respectively; that language was only the instrument and not an inherent part of the substance. Du Bellay<sup>52</sup> said for France practically the same things that Lorenzo, Bembo, and others had said for Italy, and as Elyot and his immediate predecessors and successors were saying for England. Especially interesting is a coincidence of Elyot's and Henri Estienne's remarks on translating from the Greek; the former found that English better conformed to the Greek idiom than did Latin, and the latter came to the same opinion regarding French, in his Traicte de la cōnformité du language françois avec la grec (1565).<sup>53</sup> In addition to this well-nigh universal rise of a nationalistic spirit as pertains to language, there were in Elyot's case the particular development of that spirit, and also what may

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50 P. 24 above.

51 P. 26 above.

52 La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse (1549).

53 Also Tyndale. Also the German humanists placed German on an equality with Greek and nearer the latter in character than Latin.



or may not have been the perils of losing one's standing in the country. Again, as before,<sup>54</sup> it is not necessary or possible in this study to go thoroughly into the sincerity of Elyot's allegiance to his king. At any rate, he expressed frequently (especially in the Preface to the Dictionarie, where his praise extends over pages) his admiration for Henry VIII's participation in the cause of learning and his gratitude for the king's encouragement and help in his own efforts.

Elyot found much to be deplored in the state of the English language as a medium of literary expression, but held out always a hope for its future. It was hard to translate other languages into English. Concerning some verses from Claudiane, which he translates in the Gouverneur, he says, "The versis I haue translated out of latine into englisshe, nat without great studie and difficultie..."<sup>55</sup> A few pages after this he writes, "The wordes of Alcinous, wherby he declareth the maiestie that he noted to be in Ulisses, I haue put in englisshe, nat so wel as I founde them in greke, but as well as my witte and tonge can expresse it." That this passage is, however, not so strictly an underrating of the facilities of the language as of his own ability, is indicated by the

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54 Chap. I, p. 7.

55 Gouverneur, p. 120.





fact that only three years later<sup>56</sup> he "founde....that the forme of speakyng used of the Greekes, called in greeke and also in latine Phrasis, muche nere approacheth to that whiche at this daie we use than the order of the latine tunge, I meane in the sentences and not in the wordes." The language, then, had the organization, the idiom, but lacked ampleness, vocabulary. In the same year he discovered the Swete and Devoute Sermon to be "the harder to trāslate into our langage"<sup>57</sup> because it was very elegant. In comparison with Latin originals English was poor indeed. The verses of Claudiane are full of wisdom as they are "expressed in latine by the said poete, unto whose eloquence no translation in englisshe may be equiualent."<sup>58</sup> "I coulde recite a great nombre of semblable good sentences out of these and other wanton poets," he had written earlier, "who in latine do expresse them incomparably with more grace and delectation to the reder than our englisshe tonge may yet comprehende."<sup>59</sup> There was a dearth of good translations, either the cause or the effect -- possibly it was both -- of the insufficiency of English to render the classics well; Aristotle's Ethicaa, he advised, should "be lerned in greke; for the translations that we yet haue be but

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56 Doctrinal of Princes (1534), Preface.

57 Swete and Devoute Sermon, Preface.

58 Gouernour, p. 120.

59 Ibid., p. 59.



a rude and grosse shadowe of the eloquence and wisdom of Aristotell."<sup>60</sup> In both of the last two passages the word yet stands out in bold relief. It was blame that Elyot was voicing, "but blame tinged with hope of better things."<sup>61</sup>

Through all his laments concerning the language Elyot was always most distressed over the scantiness of the vocabulary. He "was very conscious of the poverty of the Anglo-Saxon as compared with other languages, and he desired above all things to augment its vocabulary."<sup>62</sup> Frequently the language furnished him only an inexact and inconvenient word:

Of "inferiour governours": "And hereafter I intende to name them Magistratis, lackynge an other more conuenient worde in englisshe" (Gouernour, p. 16).

"Forthe with wolde folowe the warke of Cicero, callin Latin De officiis, wherunto yet is no propre englisshe worde to be gyuen; but to prouide for it some maner of exposition, it may be sayde in this fourme: 'Of the dueties and maners appertaynyng to men.' " (Ibid., p. 47)

"...yet of them two celerity and slowness in dancing springeth an excellent vertue where unto we lacke a name in englisshe. Wherefore I am constrained to usurpe a latine worde, calling it Maturitie:" (Ibid., p. 97)

"The grekes in a prouerbe do expresse it Maturitie proprely in two wordes, whiche I

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60 Ibid., p. 40.

61 J.L. Moore, Tudor-Stuart Views on the Growth, Status and Destiny of the English Language, 1910, p. 16.

62 Croft, Gouernour, p. lxvi.



can none other wyse interprete in englisshe, but speede the slowly." (Ibid., p. 98)

"Industrie hath nat ben so longe tyme used in the englisshe tonge as Prouidence; wherfore it is the more straunge, and requireth the more plaine exposition." (Ibid., p. 100)

"...Latine Intellectus, whereunto I can fynde no propre englysshe but understandynge... Wherfore I wyll use this worde understandynge for Intellectus, untyll some other more propre englysshe worde maye be founden and brought in custome." (Ibid., p. 277)

Frequently, also, there was no English word at all:

Regarding the term Res Publica: "Fyrst, the propre and trewe signification of the wordes publike and commune, whiche be borrowed of the latin tonge for the insufficiencie of our owne langage, shal sufficiently declare the blyndenes of them whiche haue hitherto holden maynteyned the sayde opinions." (Ibid., p. 2)

"In euery of these thinges and their semblable is Modestie; whiche worde Maturitie nat beinge knowen in the englisshe tonge, ne of all them which under stode latin, except they had radde good autours, they improperly named this vertue discretion." (Ibid., p. 107)

"...frugalitie, the acte wherof is at this day as infrequent or out of use amonge all sortes of men, as the termes be straunge unto them whiche haue nat bene well instructed in latin." (Ibid., p. 262)

In the Castel of Helth (fol. 59b) there is a list of digestible foods, "whiche, "he says, "I haue gathered out of the bookes of Dioscorides, Galene, Paulua Aegineta, Oribasius, and Aetius, and other late wryters, not withstandynge, I haue not writen all, for as moche as there be diuers thynges, wherunto we haue not yet founden any names in englyshe."

In the face of such insufficiencies Elyot set out more deliberately than perhaps any other man to enrich



the English vocabulary by foreign borrowings.<sup>63</sup> Croft, who has made the most thorough study we have of the Gouverneur, writes that "whilst many words and phrases are employed which were even then gradually going out of use, and were destined soon to become obsolete; on the other hand many words are introduced which were then avowedly new importations, but which in most cases still retain their places in the language. From a linguistic point of view the Gouverneur may be regarded as a connecting link between the English of the time of Chaucer<sup>64</sup> and the English of the time of Sir Francis Bacon."<sup>65</sup> Later Elyot's vocabulary and methods of embellishment will be elaborated upon; hence, it is necessary here only to mention briefly that he mixed Latin, Greek, and French words in the poor English, declaring their meanings by 1) expounding upon them at length, 2) briefly defining them, or 3) using them in self-explanatory contexts, usually, in this method, as one member of a double expression. In the words of one man who studied him, "Er nahm auch Bedacht, dass seine Neuerungen teils durch ihre Verwandtschaft mit bereits rezipierten Worten, teils durch den Zusammenhang, in dem sie auftreten, dem Verständnis sich leicht zugänglich machten. Auch

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<sup>63</sup> G.H. McKnight, Modern English in the Making, 1928, p. 102.

<sup>64</sup> Gouverneur (ed. Croft), pp. xv-xvi.

<sup>65</sup> Chap. IV.





ahmte er oft den griechischen oder lateinischen Satzbau nach, was seinem Stile freilich nicht immer zur Klarheit gereichte. Immerhin bewies aber Elyot auch dadurch, wie sehr ihm die Ausbildung der Muttersprache am Herzen lag."<sup>66</sup>

Like other reformers, Elyot had to encounter the contemptuous opposition of those who hated all innovation. He had friends and enemies; the former carried his practice to the extreme that was soon dubbed "Inkhornism" by the latter. He was accused of correcting Magnificat; that is, of meddling with persons and things higher up than he. His earliest opponents of importance to the reading public were Ascham, himself a classical scholar, and Thomas Wilson, the author of the Arte of Rhetorique. Ascham's first public retort was the publication of Toxophilus in 1545, one of the purposes of which was to show that one could write well in the native tongues and present the materials of England.<sup>67</sup> His aim was to write and speak as the common people do (using Aristotle as his authority), not to clutter up one's writing with strange terms as of French, Latin, Greek, and Italian. In this opinion Wilson concurred: "He that commeth lately out of Francke, will talke French English and neuer blush at the matter."<sup>68</sup> Many of these objections — though

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<sup>66</sup> C. Benndorf, Die englische Pädagogik im 16 Jahrhundert, Wiener Beitr. z. engl. Phil., Bd. 23.

<sup>67</sup> Toxophilus, Dedication and the address to the reader.

<sup>68</sup> Arte of Rhetorique, p. 162.



apparently most of them were never published — must have come to Elyot's knowledge early after he had finished the Gouernour. Those who complained he compared to a "galled horse abiding no plaisters, that were always knapping and kicking at such examples and sentences as they felt sharp, or did bite them."<sup>69</sup> As early as 1533 (in the Proheme to Of the Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man), he published the most thorough explanation of his practice and defence against the onslaughts of opponents that we have from his pen. It is worth while to quote from this Proheme at some length:

"But diuers men rather scornynge my benefite than receyuing it thankfully, doe shewe them selves offended (as they say) with my strange termes...His highnesse benignely receyuing my boke, which I named Gouernour, in the redynge thereof sone perceyued, that I intended to augment our Englyshe tongue, whereby men shoulde as well expresse more abundantly the thyng that they conceyued in theyre hertis (wherefore language was ordeyned) hauynge wordes apte for the purpose: as also interprets out of greke, latyn, or any other tonge into Englysshe, as sufficiently, as out of any one of the said tongues into an other. His grace also perceyued, that through out the boke there was no terme newe made by me of a latine or frenche worde, but it is there declared so playnly by one mene or other to a diligent reder that no sentence is thereby made derke or harde to be understande. Ne the sharpe and quycke sentences, or the rounde and playne examples set out in the versis of Claudiane the poete in the seconde boke, or in the chapters of Affabilitie, Beneuolence, Beneficence, and of the diuer-

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69 Knowledge, Proheme.



sitie of flaterets, and in dyuers other places, in any parte offended his hyghnes: but (as it was by credible persones reported unto me) his grace not onely toke hit in the better parte, but also with princely wordes full of maiestie, commended my diligence, simplicitie, and corage in that I spared none astate in the rebukynge of vice."

Elyot did not attempt or care to attempt the writing of a grammar, a task which occupied so many language reformers and teachers of all countries in the sixteenth century. Lily, Erasmus, Colet, and even Henry VIII had written grammars. To be sure, most of them were of Latin, because that had been for so long the only speech which was studied seriously. Since, however, Elyot would have had a child first introduced to grammar through and concerning the English language, there must have been some facilities for the purpose. He found the matter of grammars in general at a high stage of development. In the first fifty or sixty pages of the Gouernour there are several references to such language books. They were more numerous than they had been before; they were better and more facile introductions to speech; and they were to be had of Greek as well as of Latin. Even French had been "broughte in to as many rules and figures, and as longe a grammer as is latine or greke."<sup>70</sup>

Neglecting the composition of a good English grammar, Elyot did, nevertheless, contribute another very

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<sup>70</sup> Gouernour, p. 35.



important work to language study and improvement — his Dictionarie of Latin and English. In 1538 the first part appeared, "einem der ersten systematischen Versuche auf diesem Gebiete in England."<sup>71</sup> Of it Sir James Murray wrote, it is "the first work, so far as I know, to take this name "Dictionary" in English...and it would have been impossible to predict in the year 1538...that this name would supplant all others, and even take the place of the older and better-descended word Vocabulary; much less that Dictionary should become so much a name to conjure with, as to be applied to works which are not word-books at all, but reference-books on all manner of subjects..."<sup>72</sup> The forward step which one sees in Elyot's work<sup>73</sup> is that it was arranged in alphabetical order, an order which was later adopted in all dictionary making, though after Elyot there are some other works that cling to the older arrangement under subject and class headings (J. Withals' A Short Dictionarie for Young Beginners, in 1554, for example). Later in the century many two-language dictionaries appeared, playing a large part in supplying new words for the use of English writers who deliberately set out to enrich their native language.

The history of Elyot's Dictionarie is best told in

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<sup>71</sup> C. Benndorf, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>72</sup> The Evolution of English Lexicography, 1900, pp. 17-19.

<sup>73</sup> The history of English Lexicography has been reviewed in Chap. II.





the prefaces to the first two editions of the work.<sup>74</sup>  
 In the 1538 edition, after praising the virtues of kings in general, expounding the meaning of the word, and extolling Henry VIII in particular, he writes, as an example of Henry's patience and nobleness, of the encouragement he had received in the making of his Dictionarie:

"about a yere passed, I beganne a Dictionarie, declaryng latine by englishe, wherin I used lyttell study, being than occupied about my necessarye busynes, whiche letted me from the exacte labour and study requisyte to the makynge of a perfyte Dictionarie: But whyles it was in printyng, and uneth the half deale performed, your highnes being informed therof, by the reportes of gentyll maister Antony Denny, for his wysedome and diligence worthily callyd by your highnesse into your priuie chamber, and of Wyllyam Tildisley, keper of your gracis Lybrarie, and after mooste specially by the recommendation of the most honourable lorde Crumwell, lorde priuie seale, fauourer of honestie, and next to your highnesse chief patron of vertue and cunnyng, conceyued of my labours a good expectation, and declaryng your moste noble and beneuolent nature, in fauouryng them that wyll be well occupied, your hyghnesse in the presence of dyuers your noble men, commendynge myne enterprise, affirmed, that if I wolde earnestely trauallye therin, your highnes, as well with your excellent counsaile, as with suche bokes as your grace had, and I lacked, wold therinayde me: with the which wordes, I confesse, I receiued a newe spirite, as me semed: wherby I founde forthwith an augmentation of my understandynge, in so moche, as I iudged all that, whiche I had writen, not worthy to come in your gracis presence, without an addition. Wherefore incontinent I caused the printer to cesse, and beginninge at the letter M, where I lefte, I passed forth to the last

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74 See Appendix A, pp. 284-293.



letter with a more diligent study. And that done, I eftesones returned to the fyrst letter, and with a semblable diligence performed the remenant."

He then reviews several Latin dictionaries before him, praising their good points and lamenting their bad. That considered, he writes:

"I was attached with an horrible feare, remembryng my dangerous enterprise (I being of so smal reputation in lernyng in comparison of them, whom I haue rehersed) as well for the difficultie in the true expressynge the lyuely sence of the latine wordes, as also the importable labours in serching expending and discussing the sentences of ancient writers. This premeditation abated my courage, and desperation was euen at hand to rent al in pieces that I had written, had nat the beames of your royal maiesite entred into my harte, by remembraunce of the comforte, whiche I of your grace had lately receyued, wherwith my spirite was reuyued, and hath set up the sayle of good courage, and under your graces gouernance, your highnesse being myn onely mayster, and styrrer of the shyppes of all my good fortune, I am entred the goulfe of disdaynous enuie, hauynge fynished for this tyme this symple Dictionarie, wherin I dare affirme, may be founde a thousande mo latine wordes, than were together in any one Dictionarie publyshed in this royaume at the tyme when I fyrste began to write this commentarie, which is almost two yeres passed."

Beside the conference of Latin and English vocabulary and idiom, he adds sections, many of which every body expects to find in dictionaries today: tables, coins, proverbs, glossaries of professional terms, etc. The supplements and corrections are to fill the gaps left in the body of the work, each of these blocks of material being



amply introduced and explained. Elyot expected to improve his dictionary even beyond the new edition of 1545: "My Dictionary declaringe latyne by englishe, by that tyme that I haue performed it, shall not only serue for children, as men haue excepted it, but also shall be commodiouse for them which perchaunce be well lerned."<sup>75</sup>

This was Elyot's most ambitious work. Hallam called it "but a meagre performance";<sup>76</sup> Fuller considered it "an excellent Dictionary of Latine and English, if not the first, the best of that kind in that age";<sup>77</sup> Thomas Cooper paid it its due.<sup>78</sup> And all Elyot's posterity, though recognizing its weaknesses, have held it dear as a pioneer among books of its kind.

Let us now review briefly the contents of this chapter, since it contains one of the most significant aspects of our linguistic study of Elyot. We have commented on the importance of his environment and training, the first with regard to his position in society and his associates, the second with particular regard to his own reading. He was concerned with three chief phases of the Renaissance, not so much with the relig-

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<sup>75</sup> Image of Governance, Preface.

<sup>76</sup> Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries, ed. 1884, Vol. I, p. 347.

<sup>77</sup> History of the Worthies of England, 1811, Vol. I, p. 177.

<sup>78</sup> Bibliotheca Eliotae, ed. 1578, Epistle to Robert Dudley.



ious but extensively with the cultural and linguistic. Under the last his activities fall into three groups. He was first of all an educator; there are frequent explicit comments on the art of teaching, with most of his attention concentrated on language and literature, and there is the general educational import of all his works. In the second place, he wanted to aid general enlightenment, but his paramount object was the enlightenment of Englishmen in English. Frequently he spoke of the need and value of good translations from the classics into his mother tongue, and defended stoutly and logically his own attempts along that line. In the third place, he devoted a great deal of work specifically to the English language. Though he has little to say about the phenomenon of language, the desire for culture and the spirit of nationalism led him into extensive observations on the possibilities of English. His laments over the condition in which he found the speech are always tinged with hope, and he made positive efforts to add new words, to elevate English prose, and to explain carefully to his countrymen just what he himself was about. He contributed no grammar or book of rhetoric, but he did leave a Dictionary of Latin and English, which was a great boon to his countrymen for at least half a century. Through his early years he had looked forward to scholarly work, and the time he was able to give to it he spent





in literary, educational, and linguistic endeavors,  
hoping with his characteristic modesty that all he  
did would be of some profit to Englishmen.

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## CHAPTER IV

### Vocabulary

Without a doubt, the positive efforts which we have just observed were bent first of all to vocabulary. Whenever Renaissance writers lamented the condition of their vernacular languages, or made suggestions for the glorification of those tongues, they dreamed vaguely of ultimately endowing their languages with all the means of logic and rhetoric; but they took as their immediate concern the acquisition of ample and apt words. Du Bellay (in his Deffense) outlined the possibilities of French poesie, but he dwelt first on the material gains in diction to be obtained by borrowing from the classical languages. Elyot wrote an interesting sentence, indulged even in some of the artificialities of style, and commented frequently on the phrasal possibilities of English, but first and foremost he sought variety, exactness, and beauty of diction. Hence, after his criticisms of the linguistic problems of his time, his own vocabulary is of most importance to the linguistic historian.

The time is already some years past when an orientation in the field of language development was necessary as a preface to a chapter on an English writer's vocabulary,



regardless of the period in which he lived. With the work of Jespersen, Zachrisson, Luick, and many others, the general lines along which our language grew have been mapped out for us. We know the Wortschatz of our Anglo-Saxon forebears; we know something of the losses suffered during the course of Danish and French invasions, and the infusions, modifications, and additions contributed by the same forces; we know the vast augmentations of our speech during periods of fervid enthusiasm over the classical literatures and science. While the so-called vernaculars have most influenced our grammar and syntax, Latin and Greek, in the fourteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth centuries, have given the greatest increases to the number of our words. Besides a knowledge of the general developments, we have also more specific acquaintance with the way these improvements have become manifest in printed English in individual documents and the works of individual authors. Chaucer, Pecoek, Caxton, Tyndale, More, Spenser, Shakespeare, Jonson, Dryden, Johnson, and Tennyson, to mention only the most important, have been the subject of special investigation.

The work of Sir Thomas Elyot along this line falls easily and with a really surprising importance into its place.<sup>1</sup> It needs only to be reviewed in its logical divi-

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1 In 1881 F. Landmann wrote, "Er will die englische



sions. He, too, is undoubtedly one of the chief "makers of English."

I

(1)

The method employed in the present investigation of Elyot's vocabulary needs some explanation in advance, so that, particularly, the results obtained may be seen in the proper inter-relation and in relation to the whole history of the English language. The procedure has been to examine every word in certain works and passages from Elyot's writing<sup>2</sup> with a view to determining its history, both

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(1 continued) Sprache nicht in der Diktion und dem Wortschatze, sondern nach der Syntax und der rhetorischen Seite hin verbessern. 'Quicke and proper sentences of the Greeke' nennt er den von rhetorischen Figuren überladenen Stil des Isocrates, bei welchem sich schon im Altertum die Antithese und die Vorliebe für Konforme Sätze am ausgeprägtesten findet." One is amazed to find Landmann apparently so incognizant of the additions which Elyot made to the English vocabulary and which an attempt has been made to analyze in this chapter.

2 The passages follow: The Gouvernour (1531), complete; Of the Knowledge which maketh a Wise Man (1533), complete; The Rules of a Christian Lyfe (1534), complete; The Defence of Good Women (1540), complete; The Swete and Devoute Sermon (1534), leaves 1-4 and 46-48; The Castel of Helth (1534), leaves 16a-17b, 42b-44a, and 88a-end; only the prefaces of all other works. These make a total of c. 500 pages.

Only in this chapter and the next ("Syntax") has such a restriction been made, and it is here due primarily to the inavailability of Elyot's works to the present writer. This restriction, however, has seemed to be no very potent argument against the validity or representativeness of the results. The pages studied include all the prefaces, pas-





before and since Elyot's use of it. The chief source for this historical information has been the most reliable work we have at the present time, the NED. But that work, we all know well enough, is not perfect. In the first place its researches have been necessarily based on only the written language, and it is not only a question whether the written language represents the whole language but also a certainty that to an indeterminable and varying extent it does not. In the second place there is the question as to whether the compilers of that dictionary have examined all of the written record. And in the third place there is the possibility of clerical errors made in the process of compilation, some such errors having already been discovered. Accordingly, it is highly probable that the results advanced in the following pages would be altered if based on fact rather than on record; also it is likely that the Dictionary of Early Modern English, now in process of preparation at the University of Michigan, will throw much new light on the whole problem. Nevertheless, the NED stands as the best thing we have, and to obtain results more certain than those based on its contents

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(2 continued) sages from all periods of his literary career, and representative selections from all of the kinds of his writings. Additions would almost certainly be quantitative rather than qualitative. (This view is supported by the work of Delcourt on More-- referred to frequently in this study-- in which the author is satisfied with carrying his investigation through the letter "r", thus omitting the large number of words which come under "s", "t", and "w."



would be to do over, in large part, the work of that dictionary on the earlier periods of our language.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the possibility of a distorted picture resulting from a strict reliance on the NED. At G.I.xxvii.114, Elyot uses the word expeditely. It seems unreasonable to suppose that he should have introduced the adverb unless the adjective expedite had been known before him; yet, strangely enough, the earliest record of the adjective in NED is 1545 (Raynold), and the verb is recorded as having been used in only one sense before his time. The conclusion of common sense is either that the NED has missed something or that the word must have been in oral use even though it has not been preserved in print. At another place (K.81) occurs the phrase "franked up in Idelnes," a figure based on frank 'a pen, or enclosure in which animals were fattened.' In a literal sense franked was an old word, but in a transferred sense it is not recorded in NED until 1555 (Abp. Parker). The distinction is a nice one, and Elyot is not to be given credit for too broad an innovation in connection with this and similar words. Finally, the writer would like to call attention to the sub-division in Sections I (2) and I (3) of the appendix to this chapter (Appendix C). The words listed in I (2) b and c and I (3) b and c have been found earlier than the first reference used by the NED, but in some cases the priority consists



in only the matter of pagination-- that is, the quotations used for them in the present lists are found a few pages earlier in the same work than are the quotations given by the NED. One is not sure about the reason for the NED choice of references within the same work. Certainly there is, in the cases of those words, no priority in date of appearance in print, and though, for the purpose of convenience in studying them, they have been put in groups separate from and coordinate with the other groups in the same sections, they belong more properly to Sections I (2) a and I (3) a, respectively, than to I (2) b and I (3) b.

These remarks are to the point of clarifying the method of approach in this chapter and of aiding as much as possible in a just interpretation of Elyot's importance. With them in mind let us proceed to an analysis of Elyot's vocabulary.

With Caxton and the other writers of the late fifteenth century vast developments began. About the year 1500 the language had attained a respectable capacity and flexibility. It is an easy matter to look through the first hundred or more words entered in the NED under each of several letters ("A", "B", "M", "P", and "S", for example) and to discover the number of words in accepted usage at the end of the fifteenth century. By this method



it can be ascertained that the vocabulary actually in good usage at that time was approximately 18% of the present vocabulary-- a very large percentage in view of the fact that all of the sixteenth century and, particularly, the last century and a half were still to come. Being of a learned and classical tendency, Elyot did not avail himself so much of the non-classical borrowings of the years immediately preceding his literary career as of those from Latin and Greek. Of the latter his writing includes a goodly number, and his use of these elements deserves mention as an indication of his own learning and as a contributing force in their establishment.

In the passages examined for this study (see above, p. 128 ) there are, in round numbers, one hundred and fifty words which, according to NED, were introduced into English during or after 1500 and before the date of their occurrence in Elyot's works. This number includes very few non-Latin, non-Greek, or non-French stems: apish,<sup>3</sup> bab-  
bler,<sup>4</sup> burdaynous,<sup>5</sup> cuppynge,<sup>6</sup> dissarde,<sup>7</sup> ducke,<sup>8</sup> forward-  
nes,<sup>9</sup> mote (vb.),<sup>10</sup> pike thanke,<sup>11</sup> roundes,<sup>12</sup> royle,<sup>13</sup> un-  
handsome,<sup>14</sup> yorning.<sup>15</sup> To be sure, the term "classical"

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3 DGW. 224  
4 K. 87  
5 K. 85  
6 CH. 55a  
7 K. 17  
8 K. 10  
9 G. I. viii. 30

10 G. I. xiv. 65  
11 G. II. vii. 147  
12 G. I. xx. 93  
13 G. I. xvii. 75  
14 G. III. xix. 256  
15 G. I. xviii. 82





must be extended in this case to include late Latin and French derivatives from Latin, for otherwise words with a history similar to that of rebecke ('violin with three strings', F. rebec fr. MED. L. rebeca), for example, would have to be added to the list above. Of the remaining words in this category, barbarouse,<sup>16</sup> Mesaraic,<sup>17</sup> Mirobalenes,<sup>18</sup> Phrase,<sup>19</sup> and zelouse<sup>20</sup> enjoy the possibility of having been taken from Greek (though in every case there is a Latin-- in one case, a French-- equivalent); abettours,<sup>21</sup> advertisementes,<sup>22</sup> affiaunced,<sup>23</sup> apprehende,<sup>24</sup> attempted,<sup>25</sup> blemysshe,<sup>26</sup> enteruewe,<sup>27</sup> rauissheementes,<sup>28</sup> and redoublyng<sup>29</sup> come directly from French; and the rest are of Latin derivation.

In these innovations of his contemporaries Elyot found all the processes of naturalization in practice. Some of them, indeed, were not so freely used as they are today. In the matter of shifting the function of a word from one part of speech to another, for instance, there are only a

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- 16 G.I.xiv.62. Fr. L. barbarus, Gr. βάρβαρος  
 17 'One of the mesaraice veins'. CH.55a. Fr. L. μεσαραϊκός.  
 18 An astringent fruit. CH.73b. Fr. F. myrobolan,  
 fr. L. myrobalanum, Gr. μυροβάλανος  
 19 Cyp. Pref. Fr. L. Phrasis, Gr. φράσις.  
 20 PD.Pref. Fr. Med. L. zelosus, fr. zelus, Gr. ζήλος  
 fr. ζηλωτής.  
 21 G.III.xxvii.288      26 G.II.vi.137  
 22 G.III.xviii.251      27 G.II.xii.(?)164  
 23 G.I.xi.45      28 G.III.iii.205  
 24 G.I.viii.28      29 G.I.vii.26  
 25 G.III.xxiv.277



few examples; as it will be presently pointed out, this was also true among his own introductions-- as a matter of fact, that liberty with our vocabulary was not then so characteristic of the English language in general as it is now. Discourage,<sup>30</sup> used as a noun in Three Kings' Sons (1500), is the sole clear case in this group of a word's being completely transferred to a new function. Five others, however, come within this process as participles made into pure adjectives: alleuiate,<sup>31</sup> cruciate,<sup>32</sup> diuulgate,<sup>33</sup> exhaust,<sup>34</sup> underclared.<sup>35</sup> The temptation to modify the meanings was stronger. Continuynge<sup>36</sup> acquired the prepositional function of 'during' in 1515 (Barclay); correspondent,<sup>37</sup> old as 'agreeing in physical likeness', became 'answering to in mutual adoption' in 1533 (Berners); ducke<sup>38</sup> meant 'to bow' for the first time in 1530 (Palsgrave); in the sense of 'to pick out, choose', elected<sup>39</sup> appeared first in 1513 (Bradshaw); elegant<sup>40</sup> has the interesting history of having been applied first to attire (1485, Digby Myst.), then to stature (1513, Douglas), and then, as Elyot uses it, to literary style (1528, More);

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30 G. I. i. 6  
 31 G. I. xi. 46  
 32 G. II. xii. 177  
 33 G. II. vii. 146  
 34 G. II. vi. 138  
 35 G. I. xv. 70

36 G. I. vii. 25  
 37 I. Pref.  
 38 K. 10  
 39 G. II. i. 116  
 40 G. L. x. 35



Mesaraice,<sup>41</sup> 'pertaining to the mesantery' (1400, Lanfranc), signified 'one of the mesaraic veins' in 1528 (Paynel); monuments,<sup>42</sup> so familiar to us as 'memorials', meant, until 1530 (Tindale), only 'documents'; oracion<sup>43</sup> was only 'a prayer' to Chaucer, but after 1502 (Atkynson) it meant also 'a formal speech, or dignified language'; procreacion<sup>44</sup>, 'the action of procreating', quite naturally took on the additional meaning of 'offspring, that which is procreated', first found in 1533-4 (Act 25 Hen. VIII). Morphologically this group of neologisms present a greater freedom in the use of Anglicizing processes. The adverbial -ly (importunately,<sup>45</sup> iniustely,<sup>46</sup> vehemently<sup>47</sup>), the agent noun suffix -er (babbler,<sup>48</sup> dissemblars<sup>49</sup>), the substantive-forming -ness (delicatenes,<sup>50</sup> forwardnes,<sup>51</sup> pleasaunt-nesse,<sup>52</sup> promptnes,<sup>53</sup> rashenesse,<sup>54</sup>) and the participial and gerundive -ing (cuppynge,<sup>55</sup> redoubbyg,<sup>56</sup> yorning<sup>57</sup>) are only four of the many word-forming devises which were Elyot's heritage.

One thing remains to be said about this group of words: they represent various degrees of establishment in the lan-

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41 CH. 55a  
42 G. I.viii.28  
43 EC.  
44 EC. Pref.  
45 G. I.viii.31  
46 G. III.xix.254  
47 G. I.x.40  
48 K. 87  
49 G. II.v.132

50 Cyp. 1-4  
51 G. I.viii.30  
52 G. III.xi.234  
53 G. I.xiii.58  
54 G. III.xxi.258  
55 CH. 55a  
56 G. I.vii.26  
57 G. I.xviii.82



guage. Some of them date from about 1500, e.g., discourage<sup>58</sup> (1500, Three Kings' Songs), misticall<sup>59</sup> (1500, Chester Pl. and Coventry Corpus Chr. Pl.), inexplicable<sup>60</sup> and iniustely<sup>61</sup> (1502, Ord. Crysten Men); several of them appear first in Palsgrave, and there is, therefore, a question as to the extent to which they were actually known and used in everyday or literary speech, e.g., dedicate,<sup>62</sup> delicatenes,<sup>63</sup> pleasauntnesse,<sup>64</sup> and unhandsome<sup>65</sup>; others are first used after Elyot began writing but before they appear in his own writing, e.g., apropriatyng<sup>66</sup> (1533, Tindale) and procreacion<sup>67</sup> (1533-4, Act 25 Hen.VIII). By far the largest single contributor of new words during this period was the Pilgrim's Perfection (1526), which first used twenty-one of the hundred and fifty words here considered. In the midst of this growing enthusiasm for improvement Elyot found himself, and from the Gouernour through A Preservative Agaynst Deth he heralded the movement, even to the point of inevitable conflict and disagreement.

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58 G. I.i.6  
 59 G. I.xiii.57  
 60 G. I.x.39  
 61 G. III.xix.254  
 62 G. Proh.

63 Cyp. 1-4  
 64 G. III.xi.234  
 65 G. III.xix.256  
 66 G. I.iii.16  
 67 EC. Pref.





(2)

Elyot added one-third more words to the English language between 1531 and 1546 than he used of those which had been added during the thirty-one years before he started publishing. Our attention is attracted first by his new words; later we will come to his new meanings.

The fact is constantly emphasized that Sir Thomas Elyot was a learned man --savant, the Frenchmen always call him --and his particular thirst for learning took him chiefly into the classical and Christian literatures. Quite different in this respect was Sir Thomas More, whose closer touch with practically every phase of English life of the time accounted for a variety of diction in his writing that is not found in Elyot. Of William Caxton the same thing can be said, for he had to an even greater extent than More contacts in the so-called common walks of life and with the "homely terms" which often gave him trouble. No new roots are to be found in Elyot. Foul-deceiued,<sup>68</sup> splendidly Germanic as it is, is the only compound of his invention. Only nine English prefixes and suffixes appear in his neologisms: dis-, re-,<sup>69</sup> un-, -ly, -ness, -full, -ing.

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<sup>68</sup> Picus R. 11.

<sup>69</sup> Dis- and re- do not belong to the native English (i.e. Germanic) stock. They are from Latin, but they were ~~not~~ naturalized, even long before Elyot's time, to the point of being considered a part of the equipment of the English language.



-er, and -less. Disfurnished,<sup>70</sup> disproufe,<sup>71</sup> displeasantly,<sup>72</sup> distemperature,<sup>73</sup> refurnisshed,<sup>74</sup> undefourmed,<sup>75</sup> and unscatered<sup>76</sup> include the three prefixes and suffixes which were already native English in Elyot's time; abusifly,<sup>77</sup> articulately,<sup>78</sup> bounteously,<sup>79</sup> mockingly,<sup>80</sup> unlawfully,<sup>81</sup> and about twice as many more are his adverb creations; agreablenesse<sup>82</sup> and aptness<sup>83</sup> represent the abstract noun formation with that suffix; reprochefull<sup>84</sup> is his, and he also gave us reprochefully<sup>85</sup>; allurynges,<sup>86</sup> expellyng,<sup>87</sup> incending,<sup>88</sup> recantynge<sup>89</sup> are among his verbal substantives; blenchars<sup>90</sup> and honourelasse<sup>91</sup> are the only cases of the -er and -less endings. Inflating<sup>92</sup> and explicating,<sup>93</sup> first recorded in English as verbal substantives, together with allectyue,<sup>94</sup> a noun derived from the Latin past participle allectivus, are the only instances of Elyot's having shifted the function of a word as he introduced it. In connection with elegantly<sup>95</sup> (elegant

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70 G. II.vii.142  
 71 G. III.iii.203  
 72 G. I.xiv.66  
 73 G. III.xxvi.285  
 74 G. I.xxiv.103  
 75 K. 70  
 76 G. I.ii.12  
 77 G. I.ii.12  
 78 G. I.v.23  
 79 G. I.xx.92  
 80 Dict. "nasute".  
 81 Dict. "illegitium"  
 82 G. II.xii.171

83 G. I.xiii.54  
 84 G. III.xix.256  
 85 Dict. "contumeliose"  
 86 G. I.iv.20  
 87 G. I.ii.13  
 88 CH. I.(1539) 11b  
 89 Dict. "Palinodia"  
 90 G. I.xxiii.99  
 91 K. 76  
 92 CH. (1541) 10b  
 93 G. I.xiii.55  
 94 G. I.v.21  
 95 G. I.vi.24



being a new word rapidly gaining applications), we remark that our author also added elegancie,<sup>96</sup> this too being used as a qualification of style. The word frequent gained from him both a prefix and a suffix in infrequent<sup>97</sup> and frequently.<sup>98</sup> And of special interest is the word dusk-yshnes;<sup>99</sup> dusk is very old, usken dates from 1550, dusk-ily from 1611, and duskiness from 1611; duskish came in 1530, but Elyot in 1534 first put together the combination duskyshnes. Finally, with regard to these native elements, Elyot was sometimes in a state of confusion and inaccuracy about words that he must have known by word of mouth rather than from reading. Bargenettes,<sup>100</sup> (?) for bargeret, shailes,<sup>101</sup> (?) for shewels, skosers,<sup>102</sup> (?) for scorsers, and squynce,<sup>103</sup> for squinance or squinsy, present problems that the editors of the NED were not able to solve satisfactorily.

We have remarked that Elyot, with surprising frequency, adopted French spellings during a time when it was rapidly becoming the fashion to re-Latinize French words in English. There is a great deal of these re-Latinizations in his borrowings, and, a large number of these having French equivalents more nearly like the forms in Elyot than the Latin

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96 G. I.xi.45  
 97 G. I.xxi.94  
 98 G. I.xiii.57  
 99 CH. 54a

100. G. I.xx.93  
 101 G. I.xxiii.99  
 102. G. I.x.38  
 103 Dict. "Cynanche"



was, it is difficult to tell whether he took the word from the Latin or from the French etymons. Only his strong leaning toward the classics throws any weight on one or the other conjecture, and it is likely that, considering the French highly illustré itself, he was content to follow the orthography less removed from the acquaintance of most of his prospective readers. Seldom does one find a new word in his writing which has a French but not a Latin equivalent. Abstersife,<sup>104</sup> despeched,<sup>105</sup> pauions,<sup>106</sup> turgions,<sup>107</sup> credite<sup>108</sup> (sb), redoubying,<sup>109</sup> and reprinse<sup>110</sup> had their birth west of the Alps. Historien<sup>111</sup> is an agent noun of French origin; reprocheable<sup>112</sup> is a French combination, and abusifly<sup>113</sup> is French abusif, to which Elyot added the ly.

Then there was another process, already known to English writers, with which our author was not successful. In three words (instructrice,<sup>114</sup> moderatrice,<sup>115</sup> and operatrice<sup>116</sup>) we find the French feminine ending -ix, -ice. These words have not been used since their invention; they stand there in the Gouverneur as both sad and amusing results of a valiant effort.

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104 K. 70  
105 G. II.ii.123  
106 G. I.xx.93  
107 G. I.xx.93  
108 G. I.xx.88  
109 G. I.vii.26  
110 G. I.xxiv.101

111 G. I.xxiv.102  
112 G. I.iv.20  
113 G. I.ii.12  
114 G. III.iii.202  
115 G. II.ix.149  
116 G. III.xxiii.271





By far the greatest number of these words were imported from Latin, and the complete group represents a long list of Latin forms: substantival, adjectival, participial, and verbal suffixes. It is worthwhile to mention only the most common. First, there are the verbs; those in -ate, formed on the participle stems of the first conjugation (adulterate,<sup>117</sup> applicate,<sup>118</sup> excogitate<sup>119</sup>); and those which are simply the stem of the present infinitive (annecteth,<sup>120</sup> incende,<sup>121</sup> ostent<sup>122</sup>)-- these latter, though usually from the second, the third, or the fourth conjugation, are also sometimes from the first conjugation. Then there are the nouns in -tion and -ity (circumscription,<sup>123</sup> inflexion,<sup>124</sup> formalitie,<sup>125</sup> mediocritie<sup>126</sup>). Adjectives from Latin -us (barbarouse,<sup>127</sup> industrious,<sup>128</sup>), and adjective-participles in -ate (conglutinate,<sup>129</sup> ingenerate<sup>130</sup>). Others have fewer representatives, but with -mentum, -entem, -alis, -antia, -arium, and the rest of the list, we find that Elyot used practically every Latin type. In this connection two words are somewhat unusual. For pristinate<sup>131</sup> there is only the Latin pristinus, and Elyot seems to have lapsed into an analogy with the very numerous

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117 G. II.xiv.192  
 118 G. III.iii.201  
 119 G. I.xxiii.100  
 120 G. I.xix.86  
 121 G. I.xxiii.101  
 122 G. II.xiv.192  
 123 G. III.ix.229  
 124 G. I.xx.88

125 G. I.xiv.65  
 126 G. I.xxiii.98  
 127 G. I.xiv.62  
 128 G. I.i.6  
 129 G. III.i.195  
 130 G. I.xx.37 (?)  
 131 G. I.ii.13



-ate words. Rosiall<sup>132</sup> is only one of several adjectives of that ending, yet it is one for which the nearest Latin was roseus. In these, as in the -ice words above, we see the perfect freedom which Elyot felt among the riches of the Latin tongue. Not so much Greek appears in him, a circumstance due very likely to the fact that Latin authors had already reproduced in their speech so great a part as they had of the Greek vocabulary. The few Greek words that do appear are used as such, for the most part, or as Latin - e.g., Cordax,<sup>133</sup> Encyclopedia,<sup>134</sup> and Chronographie<sup>135</sup>-- though the orthography is the anglicized, or Latinized, form. Acumen,<sup>136</sup> Exordium,<sup>137</sup> and cunctator,<sup>138</sup> likewise, bear no signs of being considered English but rather as full Latin words which could easily and well be brought over and which were to some extent successfully introduced.

The Gouverneur, because it was his first and most important work, the Castel of Helth, because in its classically scientific nature it was different from anything else he did, and the Dictionary, because it was primarily concerned with language, contain the largest proportions of Elyot's neologisms. Once he had introduced them he used them at every opportunity. At first sight, he seems to have outdone himself and lapsed into the state of foolhardiness in

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132 G. II.xii.169  
 133 G. I.xx.93  
 134 G. I.xiii.56  
 135 Dict. Pref. (1545)

136 G. I.xv.71  
 137 G. I.xiv.66  
 138 G. I.xxiv.102



this game of his. Actually it is not so, for only five per cent of his creations failed to get beyond their introduction, and only twenty per cent had become outmoded in a century and a half after his death. The rest were caught up in that feverish time with so strong an approval that they continued and continue a part of a speech more illustrious for them.

(3)

The philosopher, naturally, finds more of interest in Sir Thomas Elyot's general and philosophical definitions -- definitions of qualities rather than of words -- than does the linguist. There are long passages, sometimes whole chapters, in the Gouverneur given to elaborations of the qualities of discretion, prudence, faith, maturitie, and many others. Some of them are in accord with the modern notion conveyed by the terms; others are strange, like Maturitie,<sup>139</sup> which he defines in general as 'due promptness' and in particular as 'a dance movement which is neither too fast nor too slow.'

This paper is not concerned with that kind of introductions, if there be any of importance in Elyot's works; it is concerned rather with the new meanings and applications that were given to and made of words in his hands.



This type of creation, though represented by a considerably smaller number of words, is for the life and spirit of the language possibly somewhat more important proportionately than the creation of new roots and stems.

By far the greatest number of innovations in meaning constitute shifts from the general to the more specific. Accomodate,<sup>140</sup> our present-day 'accomodate', he used in the sense of 'accomodate to a person or thing; hence attribute'. Barre<sup>141</sup> was in Middle English 'a rod'; in the Gouverneur it is 'the rod of wood or iron thrown for distance in athletic contests'. Chaos,<sup>142</sup> 'a gaping void', became 'the formless void out of which the universe was evolved'. In like manner residence<sup>143</sup> became 'sediment' and versifiers<sup>144</sup> degenerated to 'rimesters, poetasters'. Frequently a word did not receive a new meaning but was applied more specifically to a particular object. Clammy,<sup>145</sup> insufficiency,<sup>146</sup> committeth,<sup>147</sup> exquisite,<sup>148</sup> were first applied by Elyot to liquids, things rather than persons, the memory, and knowledge, respectively. Slypper<sup>149</sup> he newly applied to memory and also to foods which readily pass through the body; vehement,<sup>150</sup> to both natural forces and actions. Participate,<sup>151</sup> his own creation in the sense

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140 G. III.iii.202  
 141 G. I.xvi.33  
 142 G. I.i.3  
 143 CH. 61b  
 144 G. I.xiii.56  
 145 DGW. 226

146 G. I.i.2  
 147 K. 37  
 148 G. I.viii.31  
 149 CH. 74a, 46  
 150 G. I.ii.9, G. I.xvi.72  
 151 G. I.i.3, CH (1541) 37





'take part in', he varied to mean 'have some of the qualities or characteristics of'. In other instances, only a dozen or less in number, the shift was from particular to general. Apropriatynge<sup>152</sup> had been before him strictly an ecclesiastical term; attemptate<sup>153</sup> 'a criminal attack' was for him merely 'an attempt'; baudry<sup>154</sup> was brought out of its restriction to 'sexual immorality' to describe lewd speech or writing as well; hasarde<sup>155</sup> before Elyot had never been used disconnected from gaming; modulation<sup>156</sup> 'tempering, regulating' had meant only 'the action of singing or making music'.

There are several sorts of transferred meanings. First there are figurative senses. Conflicte,<sup>157</sup> for so long a 'physical encounter,' served Elyot as 'strife of any sorte'; inflate<sup>158</sup> became 'to fill with wind', as well as 'to puff up, be proud'; and vacaunt<sup>159</sup> in his writings often means 'idle, free in respect to occupation'. In some words the transference was to an opposite meaning: abhorre<sup>160</sup> came to be used causally; cautele<sup>161</sup> 'a trick' became 'caution, warning'; harborowe,<sup>162</sup> formerly only as 'to give shelter', became 'to track to, or oust from, one's shelter'. Finally, there is the process by which result as well as

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152 G. I. iii. 16  
 153 G. P. x. 16  
 154 G. I. xiii. 57  
 155 G. I. xvii. 75  
 156 G. I. xx. 89  
 157 G. I. i. 3

158 CH. (1541) 22b  
 159 G. I. xviii. 82  
 160 G. I. xi. 46  
 161 G. I. iv. 20  
 162 G. I. xviii. 82



cause is designated by a word: augmentation<sup>163</sup> 'act of augmenting' was then also 'state of being augmented'; valuation<sup>164</sup> not only 'action of valuing' but also 'value'.

By using it as 'a confirming' instead of merely 'an assertion', Elyot strengthened the word affirmaunce.<sup>165</sup> Opportunitie<sup>166</sup> as 'quality of being opportune' and aparauntly<sup>167</sup> as 'seemingly' were weaker than they were as 'a chance, an occasion' and 'visibly, to sight and understanding'. The modification in intimation<sup>168</sup> (old as 'formal announcement', in Elyot as 'suggestion'), is obviously a weakening of the old meaning. In discommended<sup>169</sup> (from 'found fault with' to 'spoken of dissuasively') the divergence is so slight as to be hardly felt.

Several words come here by virtue of their syntactical function only. Prepence,<sup>170</sup> for example, was first used by Elyot in the absolute and intransitive sense of 'to think, consider'; faithfull<sup>171</sup> meant not only 'loyal' but 'of the faith, true believer'; champaine<sup>172</sup> 'open, level (of land or country)' was only a legal adjective, in such a phrase as "chaumpagne heritages" (1430, Lydgate), until Elyot used it; vacation<sup>173</sup> changed its function from the old one of noun to that of adjective: "in the vacation season

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163 CH. (1541)46  
 164 Dict. Pref.  
 165 G. II.xiv.190  
 166 G. I.xviii.84  
 167 G. II.xiv.190  
 168 G. I.xxi.94

169 G. III.xxii.265  
 170 G. III.xxiv.277  
 171 BS. Pref.  
 172 G. I.xviii.84  
 173 G. I.xviii.82



from warres". Elyot first put together the phrase distributive justice.<sup>174</sup> Though the verb gnap was familiar, he must be accredited with the verb phrase gnap at: "alwaye gnappyng and kickyng at such examples and sentences as they do feel sharpe or do byte them".<sup>175</sup> Finally, in the word deprehende<sup>176</sup> the novelty consists in its use with a subordinate clause: "Surely in the bokes of Tulli, men may deprehende, that in hym lacked not the knowlege of geometrye, . . . ."

The new meanings with which Elyot is credited by our records met with more success than did the new words. Only three per cent failed to get beyond their first use, and only about seventeen per cent had become obsolete as late as 1700. All in all, Elyot's additions number approximately 350, about 210 new words and 140 new meanings. Of this total eighty per cent, or 280, have enjoyed an extensive existence in our speech.

(4)

Of the words in Elyot's vocabulary that are now obsolete, three are considered by the NED as having become so before he used them. Admaruailinge<sup>177</sup> 'marvelling' is cited for the last time in 1506 (Ord. Crysten Men); esbate-

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174 G. III.i.196  
175 K. Proh.

176 G. I.xiv.67  
177 G. I.viii.31



ments<sup>178</sup> 'amusements, diversions'; Philisties<sup>179</sup> 'Philistines', in 1508 (Fisher); and visage (vb)<sup>180</sup>, in 1531 (Elyot, G.II.ii.123), though he used it again himself in 1533 (Knowledge). In addition to those, the NED cites Elyot correctly, so far as we know now, for the last usage of nineteen words and meanings. Only four of these are known to have been in the language before him: aduocatrice<sup>181</sup> 'advocate'; alterate (adj.-pple.)<sup>182</sup>; asprely<sup>183</sup> 'fiercely'; esbaied<sup>184</sup> 'cowed, dismayed'. The other fourteen he himself apparently introduced: copie<sup>185</sup> 'plenty'; decerpt 'pulled to pieces, divided';<sup>186</sup> defalcate (adj.-pple) 'cut off'<sup>187</sup>; franked (in a transferred and figurative sense)<sup>188</sup>; instructrice<sup>189</sup>; leuigate (adj.-pple.)<sup>190</sup> 'lightened'; operatrice<sup>191</sup>; prepence<sup>192</sup> 'to think before'; redoubed (adj.-pple.)<sup>193</sup> 'repaired, restored'; reprinse<sup>194</sup> 'a step in dancing'; shailes<sup>195</sup> 'scarecrows'; slypper 'not retentive (of memory)',<sup>196</sup> and 'readily passing through the body (of foods)',<sup>197</sup>; unneth 'unless'<sup>198</sup>; unscatered.<sup>199</sup>

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178 G. I.x.38  
 179 G. III.xxiii.269  
 180 K.11  
 181 G. II.vii.143  
 182 G. II.ix.152  
 183 G. III.v.210  
 184 G. III.xix.255  
 185 G. I.x.36 This word appears only as copia in NED.  
 186 G. I.ii.14  
 187 G. II.x.158

188 K.81  
 189 G. III.iii.202  
 190 G. I.iii.16  
 191 G. III.xxiii.271  
 192 G. III.xxiv.277  
 193 G. II.xiv.192 The NED has only the finite system of this vb.  
 194 G. I.xxiv.101  
 195 G. I.xxiii.99  
 196 CH. 74a  
 197 CH. 46





In order not to give the value and permanence of Elyot's contributions undue emphasis, the writer has included in the complete list of obsoletisms<sup>200</sup> all words in Elyot which passed out of good usage at any time before 1700. With so wide and fair an extension as that we find that one hundred words are in the list. Of these sixty-nine were his own creations, fourteen had been introduced since 1500, and forty-seven had been in the language before 1500. These numbers are large, to be sure, for a modern writer of Elyot's importance, but not very large when one makes a comparison and finds the real extent to which the vocabularies of many writers of that progressing and exploring era suffered the same fate.

## II

### (1)

It is in direct connection with Elyot's articulate literary sense and conscious effort to improve the English language that we must consider ~~this~~ methods of introducing new elements. What has been said so far about those new elements has touched on only the fact, and had nothing to

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198 G. I. xviii. 84. 'Unless', the conjunctional function, is clearly the meaning; yet there is no record of its ever having been used except as 'scarcely, hardly'.

199 G. I. ii. 12

200 This list can be seen in Appendix C , pp. 365-71.



do with the manner, of their appearance. As a matter of fact, most of them were not formally introduced but were simply used (in the manner that new terms are nowadays adopted), and the reader's linguistic experience was supposedly broad enough to give him easy understanding of their function. Two methods were open to him, the principal means by which words have been added to our speech through all its history. The first is the use of double expressions, which though old at Elyot's time had begun the peak of its popularity with Caxton and was destined to remain in frequent use at least through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second is an avowed and often lengthy explanation of a new word.

The first method of explaining a strange word was that of coupling another word with it. In this the simplest of formal introductions the conjunctions or and and are used, the former being the most frequent in Elyot, though the latter is used very often. Of the several variations in the use of this method, there is first the formula in which the strange term is followed by a familiar one, which in turn is subdivided into the method of using a native English word, and that of using a Romance term, as the familiar word, (this subdivision having little significance, since the Latin and Romance terms used were already naturalized). Abstersife( in the phrase "abstersife or clen-



singe" --K.70), acceleration (in "acceleration or haste" --G. II.v.134), and graue (in "graue or sad" --G. I.i.1) are cleared up for early sixteenth-century readers through the medium of Anglo-Saxon; on the other hand, adminiculation (in "adminiculation or aide" G. I.iii.17), excogitation (in "excogitation and auysement" --G. I.xxiii.99), and fucate (in "fucate or counterfayte" -- G. III.iv.209) are coupled with English (i.e., naturalized) though not Germanic, words. Then, sometimes, it was just as easy-- possibly effective by variety-- to say what he intended to his reader and then proceed to give him a new way of saying the same thing. Because of the infrequency with which Elyot does this, we may note here the complete list of them: ampliatynge (on "correctynge and ampliatynge of my Dictionary"-- I.(1541) Pref.); amplificacion (in "correction and amplificacion"-- Dict.(1545) Pref.; prepered (in "to thinke, consydre, and preperence"-- G. III.xxiv.277); receptories (in "vesselles or receptories"-- Dict. Pref.); reprivyng (in "blamyng or reprivyng"-- K.73); saltation (in "daunsinge or saltation"-- G. I.xx.89).

Twice, and only twice, both members of Elyot's double expressions are new words. At folio 11b of the Castel of Helth (1539), he speaks of "Moche incendiynge or adustion of bloude", where incendiynge appears for the first time as a verbal substantive and adustion is new altogether. Likewise



"reprocheable or blasphemous" (G. III.ii.197)-- here we find reprocheable, introduced by Elyot at G. I.iv.20, and the absolutely new term blasphemous, which according to the NED did not appear until 1535 (Coverdale). In both these phrases the more familiar word is put first.

The "doublet" method applied, of course, to new meanings as well as to new words. For example, the divergence of Elyot's meaning for alured from the old one of merely 'attracted' is itself made clear by this doublet method: "alured and conuayed"-- (G. I.ii.9)<sup>201</sup>. And the freedom doesn't stop there. If Elyot found aduersitie likely to be taken too broadly, nothing was handier than to qualify or localize the term by the addition of another: hence, he wrote "aduersitie or exterior damage"-- (G. III.xix.253). The word very was losing its original sense 'truly' and gradually becoming a mere intensifying adverb; so, again, Elyot wrote "a very and righte publike weale" (G. II.i.116) in order not too darkly to regain for himself the strength of the original very. Also, it ought to be added that this device did not necessarily cease to be used after the first time. Even for strictly linguistic purposes it continued until the word was rather safely in the language, as in the case of ambiguous, which More had used in 1528.<sup>202</sup> Often

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201 See alured in Appendix C, Sec. I(3)a.

202 Sometimes a word never became strong enough in point of acquaintance to stand alone. Esbatelements is a good example. Caxton had introduced the word in 1475 but apparent-





a doublet seems to become inseparable, as for example Elyot's "astate and cndition", "propise and apte", and a few others that are always used together. When we add to such items, as these the multitude of instances where this device, the double expression, is used with perfectly familiar words, we see clearly that it was originally and more popularly a literary device and had been adopted, not invented, for linguistic purposes.<sup>203</sup>

(2)

Besides the double expressions there are varying degrees of the care which Elyot took to acknowledge the use of an unfamiliar term and to make it plain. This, too, often borders so closely on the purely stylistic that it is difficult to draw the line of differentiation. Writers of all ages and languages have held it a work of refinement and learning to be able nonchalantly to employ a foreign phrase,<sup>204</sup>

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(202 cont'd.) ly it lived a difficult life. Elyot used it several times, first at G. I.x.38 and finally at G. II.i.122, where he felt it necessary to explain it by a more familiar word, "passetymes." Hence, in this case, the double expression was used for an archaism. Cf. hayes (G. II.xiv.192), pursenettes (K.36), and propise (G. I.iv.19; G. III.xxvi.287; etc.).

203 In Appendix C, pp. 372-77, there is a complete list of these double expressions found in Elyot, which are strictly linguistic and not merely stylistic.

204 Windisch has written interestingly and informally on this matter of mixed languages in his Zur Theorie Mischsprachen und Lehnworten (Berichte über die Verhandl. d.



and always it is done with both language and style in mind. It is chiefly by this process, in fact, that speeches have become mixed. When Elyot, then, writes "sharpnesse of witte called in latine acumen",<sup>205</sup> or "the circle of doctrine, whiche is in one worde of greke Encyclopedia",<sup>206</sup> or "a delicate stone, called porpheri",<sup>207</sup> he may or may not have definitely in mind the purpose of adding words to English. Of course, his own statements that he "intended to augment our Englysshe tongue" justify us in considering the use of such formulas as being much more linguistic than stylistic in the author's intentions. Sometimes the linguistic improvement is very slight. There was no real need for him to write "ire, called vulgarely wrathe",<sup>208</sup> for ire was old and must have been a familiar word to even partially educated readers. At G. I.x.37 we find "Also there [In the Odyssey] shall he [a student] lerne to enserche and perceiue the maners and conditions of them that be his familiars, siftinge out (as I mought say) the best from the warst." There Elyot's formula, "as I mought say", serves only as an announcement of his figurative language, not to introduce a new word. Of another sort are his definitions-- of industry, for example-- in which he is

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sachs, Geselbsch. d. Wissensch. XLIX, 1897). One of his illustrations (on p. 101 ff.) is of Frederick the Great, who, though in his French writings he used no German words, was prone to scatter French words throughout his German.

205 G. I.xv.71

206 G. I.xiii.56

207. G II.v.135

208. G II.vi.136



qualifying a concept. "Industrie," he writes, "hath not ben so longe tyme used in the englisshe tongue as Prouidence; wherfore it is the more straunge, and requireth the more plaine exposition. It is a qualitie procedyng of witte and experience,...."<sup>209</sup> These remarks are not to be mistaken to imply that definitions of this kind do not purport to the refinement of speech; they imply only that their importance is more philosophical than linguistic. On the whole at those places where Elyot pauses to explain a word, by one, or another of his devices, the improvement of his native speech is his primary objective.

A few examples will reveal very clearly the formulas which Elyot used in these his most formal introductions of words, and they will also give a notion of his own attempt at demarcation between the unimportant and the important, between the linguistic, the stylistic, and the philosophical.

adulte "suche persones beinge nowe adulte, that is to saye, passed theyr childehode as well in maners as in yeres,..." G.II.i.116

adulte is here used for the first time in English. Elyot's introduction is formal and complete; the word is ready to be taken up immediately.

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<sup>209</sup> G.I.xxiii.100. Cf. also abstinence (G.III.xvii.246) as another example, the latter containing, however, less linguistic significance.



agreablenesse

"...agreablenesse, or (as I mought saye)  
the unitie of our two appetites...."  
G. II.xii.171

This formula Elyot employs when his terms are not entirely "derke or harde to be understande." Both the suffix and the application are new here.

Amicitia ".... frendship, called in latine Amicitia, ..."  
G. II.xi.161  
".... love, called in latin Amor, whereof Amicitia commeth, named in englisshe frendshippe or amitie." G. II.xi.162

These two quotations have the same method used in opposite directions; it is frequently used by Elyot. Though the second seems to be a more conscious attempt to fix a word in our language, the frequency with which Amicitia occurs in the chapter from which the quotations come suggests that Elyot had his readers and future users of English in mind always. Amitie, it is to be noted, was well known in English.

Archa federis

"...the holy shrine that was called Archa federis,. . ." G. I.xi.48.

Aristocratia

"...rule was always /in Greece's most "tolerable" governments/ permitted to them whiche excelled in vertue, and was in the greke tonge called Aristocratia, in latin Optimorum Potentia, in englisshe the rule of men of best disposition,. . ." G. I.ii.7.

Elyot resorts to this three-language definition several times.

Audacitie"..I name that Audacitie whiche is an excesssife and inordinate truste to escape all daungers, and causeth a man to do suche actes as are not to be ieoparded." G. III.viii.225.





This definition is very important linguistically, for the sense 'rashness', in which Elyot here used the word, was new at the time.

braule ". . . the seconde motion, . . . celeritie and slownesse, . . . may be well resembled to the braule in daunsinge (for in our englisshe tongue we say men do braule, whan betwene them is altercation in wordes), . . ." G. I. xxii.97.

The transferred and peculiar application of the word braule required an explanation to the average English readers.

Candidus ". . . Candidus, whiche maie be interpreted, benigne or gentill,. . ." DGW. Argument.  
A variation of the "in englisshe" formula.

cautherization

". . . this disease requireth sharp medicines . . . or perchance cautherization, that is to say, that the place corrupted be scorched with a hotte bournynge yron." K. 70.

The word is new at this place. The formula is the same as that used with adulte.

Chaos ". . . Chaos: whiche of some is expounde a confuse mixture." G. I. i. 3.

For an expansion of this formula see Encyclopedia in section II of Appendix C.

corroborate

". . . where I saye preserued, I intende corroborate and defended againe anciaunces." G. III. vii. 223.

An interesting bit of the typical Elyot. Preserued was an old word; yet it is qualified by corroborate, quite new as an adjective-participle and dating only from 1530 (Palsgrave) in its finite system, the form of its introduction into English.



cosmographie

"...cosmographie, called in englishe the description of the world." G.I.viii.30.

De Officiis

"...the warke of Cicero, called in Latin De Officiis, wherunto yet is no propre englishe worde to be gyuen; but to provide for it some maner of exposition, it may be sayde in this fourme: "Of the dueties and maners appertaynyng to men." G.I.xi.47.

There are many foreign words and phrases which Elyot could have rendered into English as well as we can today. He did not often attempt to translate Latin titles, but when he did he was fairly successful.

Maturitie

"...yet of them two [celerity and slowness in dancing] springeth an excellent vertue where unto we lacke a name in englyshe.

"Wherefore I am constrained to usurpe a latine worde, calling it Maturitie: whiche worde, though it be strange and darke, yet by declaring the vertue in a few mo wordes, the name ones brought in custome, shall be facile understande as other wordes late comen out of Italy and France, and made denyzens amonge us. "Maturitie is a meane betwene two extremities, wherin nothing lacketh or excedeth, and is in suche astate that it may neither encrease nor minishe without losinge the denomination of Maturitie. The grekes in a prouerbe do expresse it proprely in two wordes, whiche I can none other wyse interpret in englishe, but speede the slowly.

"Also of this worde Maturitie, sprang a noble and precieuse sentence, recited by Salust in the bataile againe Cataline, whiche is in this maner or like, Consulte before thou enterprise any thing, and after thou hast taken counsaile, it is expedient to do it maturely. Maturum in latine maye be interpreted ripe or redy, as frute whan it is ripe, it is at the poynte to be gathered and eaten, and euery other thinge, whan it is redy, it is at the instante after to



be occupied. Therefore that worde maturitie is translated to the actis of man, that whan they be done with suche moderation, that nothing in the doinge may be sene superfluous or indigent, we maye saye, that they maturely done: reseruyng the wordes ripe and redy to frute and other thinges separte from affaires as we haue nowe in usage. And this do I nowe remembre for the necessary augmentation of our language.

"In the excellent and most noble emperour Octavianus Augustus, in whom reigned all nobilitie, nothinge is more commended than that he had frequently in his mouthe this worde Matura, do maturely. As he shulde haue saide, do neither to moche ne to litle, to soone ne to late, to swifflie nor slowly, but in due tyme and measure.

"Nowe I trust I haue sufficiently expounde the vertue called Maturitie, whiche is the meane or mediocritie betwene slouth and celeritie, communely called spedinesse; and so haue I declared what utilitie may be taken of a braule in daunsinge." G. I. xxii. 97-8.

This is one of the instances of Elyot's going to great length to explain a term. His juggling with etymon and meaning, and his result (which is far from the present meaning of the word) impresses one afresh with the linguistic learning of the man and his earnestness to embellish our speech.

In such fashions Thomas Elyot served his countrymen by applying the true spirit of the Renaissance to the study of language.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> A complete list of the passages just illustrated is in section II of Appendix C, pp. 378-96.



### III

It would be vain to attempt to locate all of the contributing influences on Elyot's language interests and impossible to classify them as greater or less. His vast reading in the classics, done always with his "purpose" in mind, is an important element. It seems, however, that the actual process of translating Latin or Greek into English would inevitably bring forth, at least as a by-product, a large amount of language mixture. That assertion has much more strength than weakness, so far as the evidence is concerned. The two extreme methods of translating are that of preserving as much as possible of the original and that of maintaining a strict purity in the language of the translation. Rarely does a work represent either extreme entirely. Now Elyot, many of whose "improvements" must owe their origin or inspiration to his translating, seems rather to have absorbed Latin and Greek for general application to English than to have exhibited the borrowings from a particular passage in the corresponding section of his translation. He rejoiced over the project of testing the comparative facility with which English could render Greek, concluding it to be higher than in the case of Latin; he aimed to make his translations clear and helpful to English readers; he was hopeful of bringing the learning of ancients and contempor-





raries to Englishmen, as the Romans had done from Greece, and as the French, Italians, and Germans, in Elyot's own day, were doing from the ancients.

Elyot translated freely as to diction, but in general strictly as to content. His account of Philip's letter to Aristotle is a good example. Elyot writes:

"Aristotle, we grete you well. Lettinge you weete that we haue a somme borne, for the whiche we gyue due thankes unto god, nat for that he is borne onely, but also for as moche as it happeneth hym to be borne, you lyuinge. Trusting that it shall happen that he, by you taught and instructed, shall be herafter worthye to be named our sonne, and to enioy the honour and substance that we nowe haue prouided. Thus fare ye well." G.I.ix.33.

That is taken from Quintus Curtius, who writes:

"Philippus Aristoteli salutem dicit. Certiorem te facio, filium mihi genitum esse. Nec perinde Diis gratiam habeo quod ~~omino~~ natus est, quam quod te florente nasci illum contigit: a quo educatum institutumque neque nobis indignum spero evasurum, neque successioni tantarum rerum imparum. Satiус enim existimo carere liberis, quam opprobria maiorum suorum tollentem in poenam genuisse." Lib. I, cap.2.211.

Alexander is a very prominent source for illustrations in the Gouverneur, and at least one other passage about him exhibits Elyot's strictest methods in translation:

"For the whiche occasion, Aristotel, moost sharpest witted and excellent lerned Philosopher, as sone as he had receiued Alexander from kynge Philip his father, he before

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211 This and the other Latin or Greek passages quoted in this section as Elyot's originals are taken from Croft's Gouverneur (to be found as a footnote at the corresponding places cited in that book) unless otherwise indicated.



any other thyng taught hym the moost noble warkes of Homere: wherin Alexander founde suche swetenes and frute, that euer after he had Homere nat onely with hym in all his iournayes, but also laide hym under his pillowe whan he wente to reste." G.I.x.37.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰλιάδα τῆς πολυμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον καὶ νομίσων  
καὶ ὀνομάζων ἔλαβε μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους διδαχάσαντος, ὃν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου  
καλοῦσιν, εἶχε δὲ ἄρτι μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον,  
ὡς Ὀμησίκοις ἐστὶν κε. (Plutarch, Alex. 8; Croft I, 59, fn. a)

In these passages one finds an almost literal translation in point of content. The diction, however, approaches equally as near to pure English, or Teutonic; the Latinism here, for instance, is only slightly more than seven per cent, as compared with the average of twenty-five per cent for Elyot's whole works.<sup>212</sup> The strong Teutonic quality of the diction, even though it is offset in a slight degree by a definite influence of Latin syntax, would give the reader the impression that Elyot was a decided purist. It so happens that not all of his translated, few of his original, passages have so few Latin words.

It is well known that Elyot modeled his Gouvernour in rather large part on the works of Patrizi and Pontano, De Regno et Regis Institutione and De Principe, respectively. Within the lines based more or less directly upon these Italian authors, there is to be found a varying freedom and literalness of translation. It is remarkable in this connec-

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<sup>212</sup> See below, p. 173.



tion that frequently the Gouvernour follows either Patrizi or Pontano rather than the original Greek or Latin from which the incident came. Sometimes, however, Elyot reverts, in the midst of following his immediate models, to the earlier and more authentic version; sometimes he does not hesitate to inject his own interpretation or explanation for the reader. Nevertheless there are always the same phenomena noted above: the substance is handled closely, but the diction is very liberal. Several quotations serve well to demonstrate the relations between original, model, and Elyot.

I. "Kynge Philip, whan he harde that his sonne Alexander dyd singe swetely and properly, he rebuked him gently, sayynge, But, Alexander, be ye nat ashamed that ye can singe so well and connyngly? whereby he mente that the open profession of that crafte was but of a base estimation. And that it suffised a noble man, hauynge therin knowlege, either to use it secretly, for the refreshynge of his witte, whan he hath tyme of solace: or els, only hearynge the contention of noble musiciens, to gyue iugement in the excellencie of their counnynges." G I.vii.27.

ὁ δὲ φίλιππος πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιτεταπῶς ἐν τινὶ πότῳ ψάλλοντα καὶ τεχνικῶς εἶπεν, 'Οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ καλῶς οὕτω ψάλλον; Ἄρκει γὰρ, ἂν βασιλεὺς ἀκροάσθαι ψαλλόντων σχολάζῃ, καὶ πολὺ νέμει τὰς Μούσας ἐτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα θεατὴς γιγνόμενος.

(Plutarch, Pericles, l. Croft I, 42, fn. a)

"Philippus Macedonum Rex, (ut Plutarchas refert), cum accepisset filium suum suaviter ac scite aliquando cecinisse, placide illum objurgavit dicens: Nonne te pudet quod scienter ac pulchre canere scias? Satis enim regi putat-



bat esse Philippus si canentibus aliis adesset, ubi ocium ei suppeteret, et certantibus inter se musicis spectatorem ac iudicem se praeberet. Artem vero illam profiteri humile quippiam et adjectum esse existimabat." Patrizi lib.ii, tit.15. Croft's Appendix F.

II. "It is written of Epaminondas the valiant capitayne of Thebanes, who as well in vertue and prowesse as in lerninge surmounted all noble men of his tyme, that daily he exercised him selfe in the mornynge with rennyng and leaping, in the euening in wrastling, to the intent that likewise in armure he mought the more strongly, embracing his aduersary, put him in daunger. And also that in the chase, rennyng and leaping, he mought either ouertake his enemye, or beyng pursued, if extreme nede required, escape him." G. I.xvii.74.

"Postquam ephebus factus est, et palaestrae dare operam coepit: non tam magnitudini virium seruiuit, quam velocitati. Illam enim ad athletarum usum; hanc ad belli existimabat utilitatem pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimum currendo et luctando, ad eum finem, quoad stans complecti posset, atque contendere. In armis plurimum studii consumebat." Corn. Nepos, Epaminon, cap.2.  
[Plutarch gives a reverse account of this-- see his Pelopidas, cap.4.]

"Epaminondas Thebanus vir fuit omni virtute praestantissimus, omnesque artes ac disciplinas calluit quae ad summum quemque imperatorem pertinet. Is postquam adolevit palaestrae dare operam coepit, non tam magnitudini virium inserviens quam velocitati agilitatique corporis, illam quidem ad athletarum usum, hanc autem ad belli utilitatem existimans pertinere. Exercebatur igitur quotidie mane currendo desiliendoque, vesperi autem luctando, ut stans aliquando in armis hostem contra se stantem complecti locoque exturbare posset vel terrae illidere, sive fugientem saltu cursuve assequi." Patrizi lib.iii, tit.3., Croft's Appendix F.

III. "The noble emperour Augustus, whanne it was shewed hym that many men in the citie had of hym unfittinge wordes, he thought it a sufficient answere that in a free citie men muste haue their tungen nedes at libertie." G. III.xii.235.





"Interdum ob immodicas altercationes disceptantium e  
Curia per iram se propriipienti quidam ingesserant,  
'Licere oportere senatoribus de Republica loqui'.  
Suetonius, Octavius, 54.

"Augustus cum multorum maledictis vexaretur, satis  
habuit respondere, quod in civitate libera et linguas  
esse liberas oporteret." Pontano, Opera, tom. i, fol.  
85, ed. 1518.

The last quotation, the only one from Pontano, is  
certainly the clearest instance in all of Elyot's works  
of his using one of his models almost verbatim, to the ap-  
parent disregard of the phraseology of the original record  
of the incident.

Elyot was directly and obviously influenced to model  
some individual words and phrases on the Latin or Greek  
which he read. It is beneficial to cite here only one in-  
stance of each type. As to the single word, Elyot's use of  
stall at G. I.ii.9 to designate a beehive is copied from  
and justified by Vergil's use of stabulis in the same capac-  
ity:

"Nec vero a stabulis pluria impedente recedunt  
Longius, aut credent coelo adventantibus Euris."  
Georg. iv.191

A figure of speech he gets from Quintilian at G. I. xi.45.  
There he advises that a child should begin his reading in  
the classics with Titus Livius, "nat onely for his elegan-  
cie of writinge, whiche floweth in him like a fountaine of



swete milke: but also ..." Quintilian's words are "Liv-  
ii lactea ubertas".<sup>213</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting approach to a study of Elyot's diction as affected by the materials he translated is to be made through the epigrammatic or quasi-epigrammatic passages. There, where every word counts heavily and where compactness and balance are important elements of the sentence, a direct rendering is almost inevitable; if it is avoided the freedom of the translation is so readily apparent that one has but a short study to detect the agreement and divergences. Several of these are well worth detailed consideration.

In the Gouverneur (I. ix.32) Elyot quotes from Lactantius (III, ch.12) to this effect: "Of conninge commeth vertue, and of vertue perfect felicitie is onely ingendred." Now in Lactantius the line is "Ex scientia enim virtus, ex virtute summum bonum nascitur." The inconsistency in this translation is immediately obvious. "Onely" is added to the thought by Elyot. In the first part scientia and nascitur are rendered by bona fide Anglo-Saxon; whereas in the second part, that which might have become in English "the highest good is born" is thoroughly Latin: "perfect felicitie is onely ingendred." Virtue, a very well known word in English at the time, is the only case of a parallel in diction.

At another place the sentence structure is similar, but

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<sup>213</sup> Instit. Orat., libx., cap.1, §32.



the only word in the translation that is of Latin origin-- one which was quite old in English-- is a rendering of the same word in Latin. The passages follow:

"That childe (sai the he [Quintilian]) is to be fedde with ambition, hym a litle chiding sore biteth, in hym no parte of slouthe is to be feared." G. I. ix. 33.

"Mihi ille detur puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet, qui victus fleat. Hic erit alendus ambitu, hunc mordebit objurgatio, hunc honor excitabit, in hoc desidium nunquam verebor."

Quintilian Instit. Orat. lib. i, cap. 3.  
sect. 7.

There are several passages and quotations that Elyot repeats two or three times in the Gouvernour. The one that occurs most often is that of Alexander's appraisal of his father's and Aristotle's significance in his life. The first time this occurs Elyot writes "The same Alexander was wont to say openly, that he ought to gyue as great thankes to Aristotle his mayster as to kynge Philip his father, for of hym he toke the occasion to lyue, of the other he receiued the reason and waye to lyue well."<sup>214</sup> Again, only seventeen pages further,<sup>215</sup> the story is repeated with very insignificant changes: "Also the same Alexander often tymes sayd that he was equally as moche bounden to Aristotle as to his father kyng Philip, for of his father he receyued lyfe, but of Aristotle he receyued the waye to lyue nobly." It

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<sup>214</sup> G. I. ix. 34.

<sup>215</sup> G. I. xii. 51.



was in both Plutarch and Quintus Curtius that Elyot could have found this legend recorded. The former wrote:

Ἀριστοτέλῃ δὲ θαυμάσιον ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἀγαπῶν οὐχ ἥττον, ὥς αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς,  
ὡς δὲ ἑκείνου μὲν ᾤων, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ᾤων. (Plutarch, *Alex.*  
8; Croft I, 107, fn. a)

Curtius' version was:

"Ipse quidem praedicavit non minus se debere Aristoteli, quam Philippo: hujus enim munus fuisse, quod viveret; illius, quod honeste viveret." Lib. i, cap. 3, sect. 10.

Many years later Bishop Thirlwall recorded the same story.

"Their connection [Alexander's and Aristotle's]", he wrote, "lasted long enough to impress the scholar with a high degree of attachment and reverence for the master-- of whom he used to say that he loved him no less than his father; for to one he owed life, to the other the art of living-- and even with some interest in his philosophical pursuits<sup>216</sup>" Croft points out that Thirlwall failed to translate the word "which Sir Thomas Elyot perceived to be the most expressive in the Greek as well as in the Latin."<sup>217</sup> That word is honeste, which Elyot rendered by "well" and "nobly", and which, as the underscored phrase in his translation above shows, Thirlwall neglected.

"As Tulli saith, what is so furieuse or mad a thinge as a vaine sounne of wordes of the best sort and most ornate, contayning neither connyng nor sentence?"<sup>218</sup> This is a

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<sup>216</sup> History of Greece, vol. vi, p. 132.

<sup>217</sup> Gouverneur, I, 107, footnote a.

<sup>218</sup> G. I. xiii. 55.





literal translation from Cicero's De Oratore lib. i, cap. 12: "Quid est enim tam furiosum, quam verborum, vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum, sonitus inanis, nulla subjecta sententia, nec scientia?" Here the diction ~~is~~ more like that one would expect in a translation; furiose, sonne, ornate, and sentence are all the English counterparts of the words in the original thus rendered, though all of them had been introduced into the English language before Elyot.

At G. I.xiii.55 Elyot goes to more trouble to make clear Cicero's meaning to his English readers, apparently considering the passage difficult and wishing to make it as lucid as possible. "Tulli saience," Elyot writes, "that to him [the orator] belongeth the explicating or unfoldinge of sentence, with a great estimation in gyuing counsaile concerninge lateres of great importaunce, also to him appertaineth the sterenge and quickning of people languisshinge or dispeiringe, and to moderate them that be rasshe and unbridled."<sup>219</sup> This appears in Cicero as follows:

"Hujus est in dando consilio de maximus rebus cum dignitate explicata sententia: ejusdem et languentis populi incitatio, et effraenati moderatio." De Oratore lib.ii, cap. 9.

In this sentence Elyot four times makes use of doublets to render one Latin word, only one of which-- "explicating or unfoldinge"-- contains an addition to the English vocabulary



of his time.

Similarly in the following excerpts is there a highly literal translation of shorter sentences:

I. "Wherefore in as moche as in an oratour is required to be a heape of all maner of lernyng: whiche of some is called the worlde of science, of other the circle of doctrine, whiche is in one worde of greke Encyclopedia." G. I.xiii.56.

"Orbis ille doctrinae, quam Graeci vocant." Quintilian, Instit. Orat. lib. i, cap. 10, sect. 1.

II. "Semblably they that make verses, expressynge thereby none other lernynge but the craft of versifyng, be nat of auncient writers named poetes, but onely called versifyers." G. I.xiii.56.

"Caeteri qui carmine scribunt heroico, remotissimi ab his sunt, versificatorumque magis quam poetarum nomine sunt appellandi." Aeneas Sylvius, Opera p. 984, ed. 1551.

Also Quintilian calls Cornelius Severus "versificator quam poeta melior", and is probably the ancient writer referred to by Elyot.

III. "...the sayeng of the noble doctor sainte Augustine, That better it were to delue or to go to ploughe on the sonday than to daunse." G. I.xix.85.

"Melius est enim arare quam saltare." Saint Augustine, In Psalmum xci., Opera, tom.viii, p.212, ed.1531.

"Melius enim utique tota die foderent, quam tota die saltarent." Ibid.,xxxii, Ibid.,44.

IV. "For as Tacitus saith, wonderfull elegantly, with them whyche desire soueraygnetie, there is no meane place betwene the toppe and the stepe downe." G. III.xvi.244.

"Imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa et praecipitia." Tacitus, Hist., II, cap.74.



V. "To the whiche wordes Tulli agreinge, sayeth that hygh  
 authorities shulde nat moche be desired, or rather nat  
 to be taken at some tyme, and often tymes to be left  
 and forsaken." G. III.xvi.244.

"Nec vero imperia expetenda, ac, potius, aut non accip-  
 ienda interdum, aut deponenda nonnunquam."  
 Cicero, De Officiis, I, cap. 20.

Examination of Elyot's translation in other works  
 than the Gouvernour bears out the general statements just  
 made. Frequently his English has Latin derivatives to  
 render their etymons in the piece being translated. For  
 example, in the first four pages of The Swete and Deuoute  
Sermon, we find "praesentis mortalitatis" becoming 'pres-  
 ent mortality'; "non mouetur", 'not being moved'; "tenta-  
 tionibus", 'temptations'; "probatum", 'proved'; "dissimi-  
 landes", 'dissemble'; "invictum", 'invincible'. More fre-  
 quently, however, he translates with a different word,  
 either Latin or Germanic, as in the Doctrinal of Princes,  
 fol.3: "copia" becomes 'plentie'; "dare munus", 'present';  
 "profitentur", 'confesse'; "quaestum huiusmodi", 'retaille';  
 "emendatiores", 'instructions'; "siquid peccatum fuerit",  
 'offenses'; "reddant" contains the idea of 'sufficient'.  
 Occasionally an English sentence by which Elyot has trans-  
 lated a Latin passage will abound in Latin words, as, for  
 example, in the Castel of Helth, fol. 53b, "Replecion is  
 a superfluous abundance;" or, at greater length, in the lit-  
 tle tract on the Education or Bringing up of Children,



"...as riottous lyuyngē consumynge substance & inheritance, inordinate & chargeable gaminge, ingurgitacions and sur-fettes, defloracion of maydēs, corruptynge good women, and auoutryes." In general it may be said that a comparison of Elyot's translations with the originals reveals a sometimes clumsy rendering but by no means a literal and slavish one in point of diction and syntax.

#### IV

This account of Sir Thomas Elyot's vocabulary and of his efforts to improve the vocabulary of his mother tongue has included a number of items, as notes and as illustrations, that have a somewhat shadowy connection with linguistic history. At the same time, it has stopped short of some points that do have a distant relation to the subject. As frequently as not, for instance, Elyot leaves a Latin title untranslated, evidently either expecting his readers to understand it or to become familiar with it, or considering it beside the point at the moment of use. Cantica canticorum, at page 60 of the Gouernour is a good example of this practice. Such items have been omitted in this study. In general he never fails to define and interpret those words which have "nat ben so longe tyme used in the anglisshe tonge", and which, therefore, are "the more straunge, and requireth the more plaine esposition."<sup>220</sup>





Elyot was in no sense a Purist; never did he exhibit any fondness, certainly not extreme fondness, for revivifying and preserving the homely but quaint and charming treasures of Old English writers. The presence in his works of only twenty-two words which did not survive after his use of ~~of~~ them is strong indication of his lack of sympathy for any Purist movement. It is true that one needs nowadays a sizable glossary to be able to read him intelligently, but that need is the direct result of his being immersed more in learning than in English dialect revivals.

The percentage of Latinism in Elyot's vocabulary is very high. The present investigation on the point covered five pages, selected at such random from the whole body of his works that they are fairly representative: from the Gouverneur, pages 142 and 287; from the Knowlege, page 93; from the Defense of Good Women, page 225; and from the Image, the equivalent of one page from the middle of the Preface to the 1541 edition. An actual count of the words of Latin origin appearing on these pages reveals the following averages: in the Gouverneur, 28% (on each of the two pages); in the Knowlege, 22%; in the Defense, 23%; and in the Image, 23%; making a grand average of 24% for all of Elyot's writing. This, it seems, may be taken as a fair test and as satisfactorily accurate results. Such a percentage is amazing when one recalls that the English vocabulary was then not



more than one-fourth its present size and that the greater portion of the Latin words in our language have come in since the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Several times Elyot takes occasion to use a "common" term or to resort to the "common" speech for his explanation. Frequently (as in repulse and ire below), there seems to be a light taint of condescension; at other places (as in celeritie), he is earnestly attempting to define an uncommon word by a more common word or phrase. These two instances occur in his writing as follows:

"Surely this Repulse or (as they vulgarly speke) puttynge backe from promotion, is no little payne or discomforte."  
G. III.xiii.237.

"The value therof [mercy and placability] is beste knowne bythe contrarye, whiche is ire, called vulgarely wrathe."  
G. II.vi.136.

Similar to the "celeritie" example above is the case of congruite, in which he rather apologizes for the "common word". His preference of term to designate correct grammar and syntax in the study or writing of a language is congruence, but, speaking of the decay of learning, he asserts that "diuers yonge gentill men" who in childhood were taught and learned promptly the "speakinge of elegant latine", now being men "nat onely haue forgotten their congruite, (as is the comune worde), and unneth can speake one hole sentence in true latine, but ..."221



In addition to these examples there are those which suggest a certain deliberateness and delight on Elyot's part in the use of phrases or figures from the people. The word commened<sup>222</sup> gives the modern student a few moments' difficulty because it is so much more "native" than he expects to find any similar element in Elyot. In the Latin words communäre, commúnat, and the French comunér, comúne, there was a shift of accent as indicated, which gave rise to the Middle English forms cómun, from the etymon with the accent on the third syllable, and comúne, from the etymon with the accent on the second syllable. The first of these Middle English forms naturally exhibited a number of spellings in the unaccented syllable ( -un, -on, -oun, -en, -yn, -in ), while the second retained both its vowel sounds intact. The forms as verbs were practically interchangeable, meaning 'commune, speak of together, make common', but, as we know, the second was the dominating form in Elyot's time and has since then driven the first from good usage. Now it is surprising that Elyot should have chosen, to describe a conference of state, not the direct classical derivative but the form which exhibited in several respects a strictly Germanic-English development.

Fortunately this learned man was not incapable of deriving a kind of fascination from the language of the folk. In the Gouvernour at one place he, with a joy of recollection,

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222 G. I. xiv. 62.



attributes the phrase in the shadowe to the "old folks". "Touching suche exercises", he writes, "as many be used within the house, or in the shadowe, (as is the olde maner of speking),..."<sup>223</sup> Only ten pages further, while discussing hunting, the age-old sport of all classes of people, he says, "Kylling of dere with bowes or grehundes serueth well for the pottle, (as is the commune say~~inge~~age,) and therfore it muste of necessite be some tyme used."<sup>224</sup>

The modern reader notices in Elyot only the quaint elements, those just mentioned and a few others, inasmuch as his neologisms are, in large, familiar parts of the present-day English language. Only the sixty-nine creations of Elyot that have not survived impress us as his additions. In fact, there were six times as many, and that great number of new words gave to his writing a strange or new quality which we, reading casually from our point of view, fail to appreciate. In his own time his performance must have been almost spectacular; it is no wonder that he was opposed, and smaller wonder still that the movement in which he was a leader gained an immediate impetus strong enough to override all opposition and carry it on toward its goal, an efficient and beautiful language.

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223 G. I.xvi.73.

224 G. I.xviii.83.





## Chapter V

### Syntax and Style

A glance beyond the meanings of words to their relation to each other in the sentence brings us to the matter of syntax, a broad and variegated subject. Syntax is that phase of language study in which all students of philology, in its broadest sense, join hands. To the linguist it is the ultimate, the highest endeavor; to the lover of literature it is a basic, a fundamental consideration. Form and content cannot be separated; they are organically related to each other and are inter-dependent. This study has moved definitely towards the levels of purely literary qualities, taking account in the process of the foundation stones on which those higher levels rest. It has covered rapidly a long span of work in linguistics. It will not move into the strictly literary field; but as this chapter unfolds it will venture farther onto the common ground between the two.

With this in mind, we should like to consider syntax in a manner satisfactory to all students of literature, not to deal with it in an entirely objective or mechanical fashion, not to see only stones and no building. Style, whether



literary or general, is a safe index to mind and character. C. A. Smith, with many others, has insisted that no study of syntax is worthwhile that is not a study in "interpretation"; both men have voiced the truth that here is a matter of universals, that in language lies the thought processes, the very mental fibre, of the peoples of the world. "The uniformity that exists in all the varied phenomena of human history finds its parallel, where we should expect to find it, in the corresponding uniformity of linguistic processes. This latter uniformity is not in individual words, or sounds, or inflections. It is in word relations, that is, in syntax. It is one of those touches of nature that make the whole world kin. Polynesian words, for example, are not our words; but the Polynesians have their subjunctive mood, their passive voice, their array of tenses and cases, because the principles of syntax are psychical and therefore universal."<sup>1</sup> To arrive at a proper conception of such a universal, one must not, cannot content himself with hasty examinations or with reliance on mere and isolated compilations of statistics. Smith has written well enough to be quoted at length again: "Before syntactical distinctions can be made to disclose their full wealth of import and suggestiveness, they must be held long in solution. The attempt must not be made to force a premature and barren

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<sup>1</sup> C. A. Smith, "Interpretative Syntax" (Address before the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, Baltimore, Modern Language Association of America, 1899), p. 8.



crystallization. It is one thing to classify, another to interpret."<sup>2</sup> In the manner thus suggested, neither the universal uniformity of languages nor, indeed, the significance or philosophy of individual speeches has been studied to the point where labor may cease. In English there is need for speakers of English to finish the structure begun by German scholars and, in recent years, by an increasing number of Englishmen and Americans.

It is quite unnecessary to give at this point a sizable list of works on English syntax. Several of them are to be found in the bibliography (pp. 398 ff); in addition to those, the numerous volumes on the subject ("Englische Syntax", "English Prose", and other such titles meet the student at almost every turn) are either known or are easily discoverable to every student. Since the emphasis here is on the sentence and its larger units, recent articles of special value are R. R. Aurner's "The History of Certain Aspects of the Structure of the English Sentence" (Phil. Quart., 2:187-208), and his "Caxton and the English Sentence" (Univ. of Wis. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., No. 18, pp. 23-59). For historical and comparative purposes studies of particular phenomena and of the syntax of individual writers have proved very beneficial.

To repeat, the emphasis here is on the sentence and its

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 14.



larger units. The parts of speech are to be found sufficiently handled in the histories, and Elyot offers little additional light on their development. At the end of the Middle English and the beginning of the Modern English periods, syntax in general was tending away from the concrete and toward the abstract.<sup>3</sup> With the decay of inflections, prepositions increased for the purposes of substantial functions and auxiliaries aided in denoting tenses. Also about this time, more and most came into use to form the comparative and superlative degrees, respectively, of adjectives and adverbs. Very probably through the influence of Latin, adjectives came to be used with both an active and passive, intransitive and causative meaning: hateful, 1) 'full of hate', and 2) 'hated'; and the comparative degree acquired the absolute function. Words were frequently employed in the function of two or more parts of speech-- for example, nouns also as adjectives and adjectives also as adverbs. Beginning in late Middle English, the constructions in which an oblique case supplanted a nominative (such as "It is me", you instead of ye) became common by the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The history of such phenomena, however, needs no further investigation; one studies it now

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<sup>3</sup> "The sun going down" became "the going down of the sun."

<sup>4</sup> An excellent summary by historical periods of these syntactical developments is to be found in L. Kellner's Historical Outlines of English Syntax, 1892, pp. 303-18.





by periods, not in individual authors like Elyot. The reference of pronouns in his writing occasionally attracts attention, but it is with him never more ambiguous nor more curious than we have seen at many another place time. The participle does present some departure from tradition.<sup>5</sup> The adverb "where" introduces once a causal clause<sup>6</sup> and once a temporal clause.<sup>7</sup> The Modern English "of" phrase, expressing a partitive genitive, occurs in Elyot with the omission of the preposition: "that maner ceremony" (G. I.xix.85); "some his fautours" (G. III.xxvii.288); "dyuers your subiects" (BS.Pref., 1539); "other their goddis" (Dict.Pref., 1538); "dyuers your noble men" (Dict.Pref., 1538); "of other his wonderfull vertues" (I.Table, 1541). This construction occurs frequently in the writing of the time and is best explained as an appositive idea, in the transition from the old synthetic to the new analytic genitive.<sup>8</sup> Even word-order deserves less attention here than might be expected. The position of the adverb

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5 The participle will be discussed under "I" pp. 197-9 , below.

6 DGW. 223.

7 Dict. Pref. (1545).

8 See Kellner, Historical Outlines of English Syntax, sections 167-74. Kind, maner, and other were early adjectives which took the genitive case inflection with their modified nouns: "alles kunnes wurmes" = 'of all kind worms', i.e., worms of every kind. That concrete expression began, as early as the thirteenth century, to give way to the more abstract "all kinds of worms." At the same time the partitive genitive was breaking down: cf. "no morsel bred" (Chaucer, The Monkes Tale, 440), "a galon wine" ("Bury Wills", 47, Camden Society). The loss of the genitive ending probably brought on the anomalies exhibited in these two types of construction.



and that of the preposition have changed so freely at the hands of the author that it played a small role, even in Elyot's time, in establishing an author's style. All these matters are important, to be sure, but they have been much studied and worked out in great detail. The larger units, on the other hand, have not only received less general attention but are, it seems, more significant. We shall have got the heart of the matter if we get Elyot's conception of the sentence, his sentence sense, and add to it some rhetorical or stylistic devices of a larger scope, by which he created atmosphere and tone.

## I

### SYNTAX

It is probable that every important writer has tried to write well, but it is only since printing began that Englishmen have made continuous and serious efforts to improve the form and structure of their prose. The early efforts demonstrate their feebleness. Caxton has one original sentence of 21 clauses (380 words)<sup>9</sup> and another of 23 clauses (227 words)<sup>10</sup>. His sentences issued from his pen in a practically unguided manner. For instance, he writes this formless mass of words in the Golden Legend:

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<sup>9</sup> See A.W. Pollard, Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse, 1903, pp.214-5.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 226.



"Which thing when Gotard had advertised of and that he bare so away the bread, but he wist not to whom ne whither, whereof he marvelled and so did all his household."-- Life of St. Rocke, in the Golden Legend, No. 154. (Quoted from Aurner, Phil. Quart., 2:191).

"Beyond the immediate problem of fastening two contiguous structural elements together, his attention did not function. A harmonious arrangement of parts in the whole structure was beyond him."<sup>11</sup> Thomas More, too, sometimes fell into the error of aimless sentences, to wit, in a sentence, quoted by Delcourt,<sup>12</sup> in which there are 40 clauses (approximately 525 words); twice in that sentence he stops to gather up all he has said-- first with "nowe when we tell them thus" and later with "when we tel Tyndal and Luther al thys"-- only to proceed again to equal complication. It is quite remarkable, however, that rapid strides toward perfection were taken even during those early years after printing was begun. More did not always write such unwieldy periods; on the contrary, he frequently writes well even as judged by modern standards, and his contemporaries-- Lord Berners and Bishop Fisher in particular-- were succeeding appreciably toward sentence perfection as early as the second and third decades of the sixteenth century. Knowing of that progress, then, and knowing of Elyot's devotion to the cause of the English language, we should not for a moment ask, Did Elyot

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<sup>11</sup> R. R. Aurner, Univ. of Wis. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., No. 18 (1923), p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Op. cit., pp. 271-2.



aid the rise of literary prose: but rather, How and how much did he aid it?

The present writer has analysed 140 of Elyot's sentences,<sup>13</sup> with a view to establishing relations between the sentence structure in his various works, as well as between his writing and that of his predecessors and successors. First, as to sentence length. The following table gives the

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13 In general the method of analysis here used has been based on that used by Aurner, which the reader may find explained in either of his articles referred to above. In the final analysis that method is nothing more than a counting process.

The selection of 140 sentences is purely arbitrary; the object is only to get a representative group, and the number is swelled beyond 100 (the number examined by Aurner) because as many as 75 are taken from the Gouernour alone. These sentences were chosen at random and in groups usually of about ten, though three times of only four or five sentences. Following are citations of the sentences used:

G. Proh, complete	-----	Nos. 1-11
G.	pp.2-3-----	" 12-20 "Fyrst, the propre...uni- versall dissolution."
G.	pp.156-7-----	" 21-32 "I had...was he destroyed."
G.	pp.191-2-----	" 33-50 "The great Alexander... corneades."
G.	pp.240-1-----	" 51-63 "Agesilaus...his realme."
G.	pp.296-7(complete)	Nos. 64-74
Cyp.	first four sent. and the eight sent. begin.	
	"Saynete John..." on p. 46-----	Nos. 75-86
CH.	fols. 42b-44a, begin. "Besydes the tymes..."	--- Nos. 87-96
Rules	first five sent.-----	Nos. 97-101
Rules	last four sent.-----	" 102-105
Dict. Pref.	ten sent., beg. "It is from the mouthe of your highnesse..."	-----Nos.106-115
I. Pref.	first ten sent.-----	" 116-125
DGW.	pp.222-3, ten sent., beg. "And it seemeth that ye lack teeth..."	-----Nos.126-135
Educ. Pref.	first five sent.-----	" 136-140





average number of words to the sentence in the ten pieces examined:

Prefaces

G. 58.5  
D. 71.8  
Ed. 80.2  
I. 65.5  
General  
average 69.00

Bodies

G. 38.6  
R. 47.5  
Cyp. 42.2  
CH. 60.4  
DGW. 32.8  
General  
average 44.3

Average for all pieces examined: 56.65

The general average of 56.65 means very little as a cold mathematical finding; we must supplement it. Elyot's extremes are 6(Nos. 50 and 128) and 271(No. 112); the latter contains a long list and is 126 words longer than the next longest sentence (No. 4). There are many periods of ten to twenty words. Frequently short or long sentences occur in series (as in Nos. 43-48, and 136-9, respectively). Elyot's general average is about two and a half times that of present-day sentences, which is approximately 22,<sup>14</sup> but it is about 15 per cent lower than Caxton's. Unfortunately, this apparent improvement over Caxton cannot be made too much of. Although Elyot's general average is below that of Caxton as found by Aurner, it must be remembered that all of the Caxton sentences examined came from prefaces and that the average of Elyot's prefaces is higher (Caxton 65.07, and Elyot 69.00). This greater sentence

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<sup>14</sup> According to Aurner's estimate, Univ. of Wis. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., No. 18(1923), p. 36.



length in the prefaces is quite natural. Prefaces are more formal, the author is there displaying himself. If in the Education the sentences are longer than one would expect, he observes that in the Gouverneur they are shorter. The high average in the body of the Castel of Helth surprises us, but the low average in the Defense of Good Women is to be expected in a work of conversation. All in all it may be said that Elyot's sentences are not, as a rule, so long as to be unintelligible to the attentive reader. Caxton's frequently were, and it is now our object to discover the extent to which Elyot's were not.

In 140 sentences Elyot introduces a total of 560 clauses; among these there are 154 main clauses, upon which he loads 406 subordinate clauses. Aurner says of Caxton, "No other writer after Caxton (among these who have come under my observation) suspends, on the long average, as many as three subordinate clauses from every main element."<sup>15</sup> Elyot is only slightly better, with an average of more than two and a half. Proportionately, Caxton has 185 main clauses and 552 subordinate clauses; and whereas Caxton has an average of five clauses to the sentence and a ratio of 1:3 between main and subordinate clauses, Elyot has an average of four clauses and a ratio of 1.1:3 (27.5:72.5), apparently only a slight improvement in sentence complexity. The

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<sup>15</sup> Univ. of Wis. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., No. 18(1923), p. 37.



improvement is more real than apparent, however, for nowhere in Elyot has the present writer found a sentence so formless in structure as the one quoted above from the Golden Legend, or so unending as the one referred to from More. The bar-graph, though it has little value in itself, serves well to show that Elyot distributed his clauses somewhat better than his predecessor, the first printer: 25% of Elyot's sentences contain more than five clauses (Caxton 31%), and 4% contain more than eight (Caxton 15%). The longest sentence observed in Elyot, (containing 271 words), is in the Preface to his Dictionary and is made up largely of a list of items included in the book. For that reason it is not at all difficult or involved. The next longest is the second sentence of G.III.xxvii;<sup>16</sup> but even that is less difficult and tedious than many sentences by nineteenth and twentieth century writers of good repute.<sup>17</sup>

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16 See quoted on pp.191 below.

17 Some of Henry James' sentences, for example, are inexcusable. Cf. the following: "I recall our coming on such a figure at the foot of a staircase and his having been announced to us by our conductor or friend in charge as likely to be there; and what a charm I found in his cool loose uniform of shining white (as I was afterwards to figure it,) as well as in his generally refined and distinguished appearance and in the fact that he was engaged, while exposed to our attention, in the commendable act of paring his nails with a smart penknife and that he didn't allow us to interrupt him." (A Small Boy and Others, N. Y., 1913, p. 174.)



BAR GRAPH

Designed to Show the Distribution of Clauses

	5	10	15	20	25	30	
1	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX						20
2	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX						26
3	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX						26
4	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX						19
5	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX						12
6	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX						16
7	XXXXXXXXXX						8
8	XXXXXXX						7
9	XX						2
10	X						1
11	X						1
12	X						1
15	X						1





There are 406 subordinate clauses in the 140 sentences. Of these 126 (31%; of all clauses 22%) are sub-dependent; again, of the latter, 21 (16.6%; of all clauses 5.2%) are sub-sub-dependent. In two sentences subordination runs to the fourth degree (Nos. 119 and 124), and in one sentence to the fifth (No. 59). These figures are not so large as they might be, should one be extremely exacting in his analyses. Aurner, for instance, finds that 76% of Caxton's subordinate clauses are sub-dependent, "hanging one from another or nesting one within another,"<sup>18</sup> and that the lowest percentage among the eight writers he investigated was in Macaulay.<sup>19</sup> In this study only those clauses have been considered sub-dependent which are "nesting within" others or which are very closely knit to preceding clauses; those which are widely non-restrictive-- some of them being preceded by semicolons or periods-- have been classified as merely dependent.<sup>20</sup> This method has the fault of being

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<sup>18</sup> Univ. of Wis. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., No. 18(1923), p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> The percentages for the eight men are as follows: Caxton 76%; Lyly 42%; Sidney 65%; Bacon 46%; Dryden 52%; Addison 53%; Johnson 50%; Macaulay 32%.

<sup>20</sup> In the following sentence, for example, Aurner would count one dependent and four sub-dependent clauses, but for this study they are counted two dependent (the "For as moche" and the "whiche in thinges" clauses) and three sub-dependent (the "wherof", "that therby", and "as it were" clauses):

"For as moche as Plebs in latin, and comminers in eng-lisshe, be wordes only made for the discrepance of de-



arbitrary and of being subject to the whims of the investigator, but at the same time it has the virtue of presenting a fairer view of the extent of entanglement in a writer's sentences. After all, figures on dependence and sub-dependence are not an infallible indication of clarity or the opposite. Fuzzy thinking can make even a simple sentence involved.

The longest chain of clauses in the 140 sentences from Elyot contains five. There are two such structures:

"On a tyme he hadde theim all with hym at dyner, and after it was shewed hym that Rynande, kynge of Scottes, hadde sayde that he wondrous how it shulde happen that he and other kynges, that were tall and great personages, wolde suffre them selves to be subdued by so litle a body as Edgare was." (G.III.xiv.241)

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20(continued) grees, wherof proceedeth ordre: whiche in thinges as wel naturall as supernaturall hath euer had suche a preeminence, that therby the incomprehensible maiestie of god, as it were by a bright leme of a torche or candel, is declared to the blynde inhabitants of this worlde." (G.I.i.2-3)

Also, in the following sentence Aurner would count two dependent and two sub-dependent, wheras for this account they are counted three dependent (the "if there were", "that with false" and "whiche is" clauses) and one sub-dependent (the "then deth" clause):

"In reason howe moche more payne (if there were any greater payne than deth) were he worthy to suffre, that with false adulation dothe corrupt and adulterate the gentill and vertuous nature of a noble man, whiche is nat onely his image, but the very man hym selfe." (G.II.xiv.191-2)



"If a man, beinge determined to equitie, hauynge the eyen and eares of his mynde set onely on the trouthe and the publike weale of his contray, will haue no regarde to any requeste or desire, but prodedeth directely in the adminystration of iustyce, than either he whiche by iustice is offended, or some his fautours, abettours, or adherentes, if he him selfe or any of them be in seruice or familiaritie with hym that is in auctoritie, as soone as by any occasion mention hapneth to be made of hym who hathe executed Justyce exactly, furthe with they imagine some vice or deafute, be it neuer so litle, wherby they may minysse his credence, and craftly omitting to speke any thyng of his rygour in Justyce, they wyll note and touche some thyng of his maners, wherein shall eyther seme to be lyghtnes or lacke of grauitie, or to moche sowernes, or lacke of ciuilitie, or that he is nat beneuolent to hym in auctoritie, or that he is nat sufficient to receyue any dignitie, or to despeche matters of weyghtye importaunce, or that he is superfluous in wordes or elles to scarce." (G. III.xxvii.288)

The first of these is quite intelligible on first reading; the mind is at least saved the labor of keeping straight five subordinate clauses of five denominations. Likewise in sentence No. 119 ("...I suppose, that I shuld sufficiently discharge my selfe of my promise, if I dyd nowe publishe this boke, whiche (except I be moche deceyued) shall minister to the wyse readars both pleasure and profite.") and in sentence No. 124 ("...I will professe without arrogauce, that whan I consydered, that kunninge contynueth whan fortune flytteth..."), there are chains of four subordinate clauses which require no great mental effort for understanding, though they could probably not be defended as the best English prose. The second sentence quoted a-



bove (G.III.xxvii.288) is more difficult, but its difficulty lies in the complexity of thought and in the length, as well as in the complexity of structure.<sup>21</sup> In this sentence the longest series of dependent clauses-- five in number-- is in the passage "whiche by iustice is offended. . . with hym that is in auctoritie." If the reader will pause after "credence" and begin a new independent element, he will find the sentence easily intelligible. In point of fact, Elyot's hardest sentences are hard chiefly because they are too long, not because they are entangled.

In the table of dependent and sub-dependent clauses (see p.193), it may be seen that I. Pref. and Rules (followed by EC. Pref. and Dict. Pref.) have the highest percentages of dependent clauses and that CH., DGW., and G. Body have the lowest. This, added to the statement already made that the prefaces have longer periods than the bodies, strengthens the assertion that in the prefaces the authors are inclined to soar on freer wings and thereby to write less effectively than in their main works.

In 140 sentences Elyot uses every one of the eleven

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<sup>21</sup> An important consideration. In Caxton for the most part there is simplicity of thought and complexity of structure; in Francis Bacon, on the other hand, there is complexity of thought and simplicity of structure. This is particularly true of the first edition of Bacon's Essays; in the revision and amplification of 1625, the compressed style gives way to greater smoothness and fluency.





A TABLE

Showing the Distribution of Dependent and  
Sub-dependent Clauses

Selections in Chronol. Order. Tol. Cl. in Par.	Dependent	Sub- dependent	Sub-sub- dependent	Main
G. Proh.(37)	19 (51.4%)	9 (24.3%)	3 (8.1%)	6 (16.2%)
G. Body (217)*	109(50%)	31 (14.3%)	5 (2.3%)	70 (32.4%)
Cyp. Body (40)	21 (52.5%)	5 (12.5%)	1 (2.5%)	13 (32.5%)
CH.Body (44)	19 (43.2%)	9 (20.5%)	1 (2.3%)	15 (34%)
R. Body (44)	25 (56.8%)	7 (15.9%)	3 (6.8%)	9 (20.5%)
Dict. Pref. (48)	27 (56.2%)	7 (14.6%)	1 (2.1%)	13 (27.1%)
I.Pref. (61)*	36 (59%)	8 (13%)	3 (5%)	12 (19.7%)
DGW. Body (39)	17 (43.6%)	9 (23.1%)	3 (7.6%)	10 (25.6%)
EC. Pref. (30)	17 (56.6%)	6 (20%)	1 (3.3%)	6 (20%)
Average:	52.5%	17.3%	4.6%	24.9%

\* One sentence to the fifth place.

\*\* Two sentences to the fourth place.



subordinate clause types. Relative clauses are, as usual, most numerous (166). As was customary by the sixteenth century, they are introduced by who, that, and which. Adverbial clauses run a close second (161). Those of degree are most numerous (31), and those of purpose and concession are least (7 each). Among noun clauses those used as object lead by the great majority of 61 to 18. It is really doubtful that Elyot uses a single substantive clause as subject. At one place it has been so construed: "That Aristotle was dissolute and also inconstant, it may appear by this, which is written of him."<sup>22</sup> That, it seems, is an example of anacoluthon (or of pleonasm), rather than of an inversion resulting in the order predicate noun-subject-verb. At G. III.xxvii.288 (the long sentence quoted on p. 191 above) there are three "that" clauses which are rather subjects in inverted order than predicate nouns. Aurner finds in Caxton "no hint of the substantive clause used as subject."<sup>23</sup>

According to the somewhat lenient method we are using here in determining a sub-dependent element, Elyot has few examples of a subordinate clause depending upon its like. Relative upon relative occurs thirteen times in 140 sentences.

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<sup>22</sup> Sentence No. 140, DGW. 223.

<sup>23</sup> Univ. of Wis. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., No. 18 (1923) p. 39.



"The citie of Athenes... during the time that it was gouerned by those persons unto whom the people mought haue a familiare accesse..." (G. II. ix. 157)

"...my boke called the Gouvernour, instructinge men in suche vertues as shalbe expediēt for them, which shal haue authority in a wele publike." (Dict. Pref.)

Only twice does he have subordination of similar clauses to the third degree.

"On a tyme he hadde theim all with hym at dyner; and after it was shewed hym that Rynande, kynge of Scottes, hadde sayde that he woundred howe it shulde happen that he and other kynges, that were tall and great personages, wolde suffre them selves to be subdued by so litle a body as Edgare was." (G. III. xiv. 241)

"...I assembled all suche authours as I thought shulde be necessarie for the acheiuyng of that, whiche I toke in enterprise, whose names dooe immediately folowe this prohemie..." (Dict. Pref.)

That is the limit.<sup>24</sup>

Nineteen sentences (Nos. 4 twice, 7, 17, 25, 34, 59, 68, 84, 96, 102, 103, 115, 118, 119, 124, 130, 134, 140) have subordination of unlike clauses to the third degree.<sup>25</sup>

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24 In the last sentence quoted there is actually a chain of four subst. clauses, though the last is of a different denomination from the other three.

25 It may not be entirely amiss to call attention at this point to the "that, since, when" element in the following sentence, occurring in a recent issue of a publication of English scholarship: "On the contrary, it seems to me that, since, when a noun was used adverbially in Old English, it was always in some oblique case, and since, in the locution in question, the noun was in Old English in the accusative, it is quite appropriate in Modern English to call miles [ "He walked two miles" ] an adverbial objective, though I should prefer to call it an adverbial accusative." Elaborate interdependence is, then, to be found even today.



Examples:

(No. 17-- Relative-Result-Manner)

"For as moche as Plebs in latin, and comminers in englishe, be wordes only made for the discrepance of degrees, wherof procedeth ordre: whiche in thinges as wel naturall as supernaturall hath euer had suche a preeminence, that therby the incomprehensible maiestie of god, as it were by a bright leme of a torche or candel, is declared to the blynde inhabitantes of this worlde." (G.I.i.3)

(No. 118-- Concession Degree-Condition)

"Wherefore with all diligence I endeouored my selfe whiles I had leysour, to translate it into englishe: all be it I coulde not so exactly performe myn enterprise, as I mought haue done, if the owner had not importunately called for his boke, wherby I was constrained to leue some part of the wark untranslated:..." (I.Pref.)

(No. 140-- Cause-Relative-Degree)

"Also of pourpose I haue omitted to translate some parte of this matter, conteyned as well in the Greke as in the Latin partly for that it is strange frome the experience of vsage of this present tyme. partly that some vices be in those tonges reprobued, whiche ought rather to be unknowen, than in a vulgare tonge to be expressed." (Educ.Pref.)

(No. 96-- Substantive, pred. noun-- Locative-Degree)

"This is alway to be remembred, that where one seleth hymselfe full, and greued with his dyner, or the sauoure of his meate by eructation ascēdeth or that his stomacke is weke by late syckenesse or moche study, than is it most conuenient, to absteyne from supper, and rather prouoke himselfe to sleape moche, than to eate or drynke any thyng." (CH.fol. 42b-44a)

Twice there is subordination to the fourth degree.

(No. 119-- Substantive, object--Condition-Relative-Cond.)

"...I promised to write a boke of the forme of good gouernance: And for as moch as in this boke was expressed of gouernance so perfite an ymage, I suppose, that I shuld





sufficiently discharge my selfe of my promise, if I  
dyd nowe publishe this boke, whiche (except I be moche  
deceyued) shall minister to the wyse readers both plea-  
sure and profite." (I.Pref.)

(No. 124-- Subst., Obj.-Time-Subst., Obj.-Time)  
"But to excuse me of foly, I will professe without ar-  
rogance, that whan I consydered, that kunninge contyn-  
ueth whan fortune flytteth,..." (I.Pref.)

Once to the fifth degree.

(No. 59--Subst., Obj.-Subst., Obj.-Subst. Obj.-Subst.,  
pred. noun-Relative)  
"On a tyme he hadde theim all with hym at dyner, and  
after it was shewed hym that Rynande, kyng of Scottes,  
hadde sayde that he woundred howe it shulde happen that  
he and other kynges, that were tall and great person-  
ages, wolde suffre them selves to be subdued by so litle  
a body as Edgare was." (G.III.xiv.241)

Prepositional phrases are numerous-- 209 adjective  
and 345 adverb, in 104 sentences, an average of more than  
five to the sentence. Gerunds are rare-- probably ten or  
twelve in 100 sentences. The participles, however, are  
coming into more frequent use with Elyot, particularly in  
the absolute construction. Though that construction had  
come into the language, in imitation of the Greek and Lat-  
in, as early as the Anglo-Saxon period,<sup>26</sup> it "had not become  
thoroughly naturalized" even in Early Modern English; "It  
limited itself to certain favorite authors where the class-  
ical element largely predominated, and was used but spar-

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26 Otto Jespersen, Growth and Structure, 1926, p. 128.  
-- Morgan Callaway, The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon,  
(Baltimore, 1889).-- Charles Hunter Ross, The Absolute Part-  
iciple in Middle and Modern English (Baltimore, 1893).



ingly by authors whose style was essentially English."<sup>27</sup> In Caxton 43 participles are found in 22 of 100 sentences, which fact shows that Caxton himself used participles freely when they suited his purpose. Not only does Elyot use more participles than Caxton; compared to the latter, his use of the absolute participial construction is great. For instance, there are only two participial phrases on the first two pages of the Preface to Caxton's Recuyell, neither of which is absolute. In Elyot, on the other hand, there are fifteen participial phrases in the two-page Prohemie to the Gouvernour, five of which are in the nominative absolute construction. In general, about one-sixth of Elyot's participles are in absolute or quasi-absolute constructions (that is, the subject is placed before the participial phrase and repeated in the main clause, the pleonasm resulting chiefly from the length of the phrase). Observe the absolute phrase in the following sentence:

"Wherefore Tulli sayeth we shulde so indeuour our selves that we striue nat with the uniuersall nature of man, but that beyng conserued, letterus folow our owne propre natures,..." (G. I.xiv.63)

Ordinarily Elyot prefers to place the participle after the noun it modifies, but occasionally he inverts the order:

"The Castel of Helth being truly rad, shal longe preserue men (being some phisicions neuerso angry) frō perillouse

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<sup>27</sup> Ross, op.cit., p. 38.



siknes." (I. Pref., 1541)

The participle phrase is more common in narration than in description or exposition.

The word-order in Elyot's writing is very much unsettled and un-modern, particularly in certain idioms to which our ears are unaccustomed. In general, however, he seems to make a definite, though not a great, step forward. In Anglo-Saxon the three chief word-order molds-- that is, involving the main sentence elements, subject and verb-- were used with something of the regularity with which modern German uses them. "Normal" was, of course, the simplest and most common; "inverted" followed the introduction of a sentence by an adjunct; and "transposed" occurred in subordinate clauses.<sup>28</sup> Transposed order is not frequent in the sixteenth century,<sup>29</sup> and in the seventeenth century inverted order is no longer a language convention, but a deliberate stylistic device, a carry-over of Biblical language and of certain subjunctive constructions (the concessive "be it neuer so litle," for example), and the like. In 100 sentences,<sup>30</sup> containing 108 main clauses,

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<sup>28</sup> C.A. Smith, The Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose, PMLA, vol. I(1893), No. 2. There are various subdivisions of these types which it is not beneficial to go into now.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. More: "...suche apostasye as is in oure wretched dayes wyth muche people litle esteemed." (p. 810 F. 2) (See Delcourt, op.cit., p. 179).

<sup>30</sup> Including the passages listed in footnote 11 from:



Elyot writes subject-verb 65 times (60%), verb-subject 9 times (8.3%), and subject-adjunct-verb 31 times (29%); verb-adjunct-subject occurs only once (sentence No. 38). In the 244 subordinate clauses in these sentences the normal (subject-verb) order appears 191 times (80%), an increase over the main clauses of 20%; verb-subject 14 times (only 5.7%); subject-adjunct-verb occurs 37 times (15%); verb-adjunct-subject again occurs but once (sentence No. 129).

Initial connectives (pure adverbs or conjunctive adverbs), adjuncts within the clause, and phrases may cause inversion:

"Here with wolde be conioyned..." (G. I.xxv.106)

"So do they..." (G. I.xxv.106)

"In euery of these things and their semblable is Modestie..." (G. I.xxv.107)

"...at the last surmounted shamefastnes." (G. II.xxi.168)

"That beholdinge Gysippus..." (G. II.xii.169)

"That hering the good woman, alas sayd she..." (I. Pref., 1541)

"In good faith, so did I." (DGW.222)

These inversions are by no means widely scattered; one may

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(30 continued) G. Proh.  
G. Body  
Cyp.  
Dict.  
DGW. (first four sentences)





find several on any page. It is to be noticed, also, that not only verbs of saying and the subjunctive mood may cause this inversion in Elyot. It is natural to the modern English reader that there are more examples of this order in narrative than in expository or descriptive passages, though they sometimes occur there (cf. the first, second, and third examples above; at the end of his chapter on prudence, however, Elyot uses the normal order where he might easily have used the inverted: "And thus I conclude the last parte of daunsinge,..." --G. I.xxv.107). In 100 sentences Elyot makes use of 54 initial or intersentential connectives; 22 sentences begin with a phrase or a clause; and only 24 begin directly with the subject.

It is now time to take stock, to glance over the 140 sentences on which this discussion is based, and to ask the most important question, What was Elyot's conception of the sentence? How well developed was his sentence sense? The number of subjects and verbs is normal in his writing, there being more compound verbs than compound subjects. In 100 sentences, 108 main clauses have 118 subjects and 125 verbs; 244 subordinate clauses have 251 subjects and 275 verbs. The larger number of verbs is in part, though not wholly, the result of the habit of economizing on subjects, a very prominent habit in sixteenth-~~and~~ seventeenth-century writing. There are few cases of pleonastic sub-



ject-- only four in 100 sentences, and those, as in sentence No. 51, are indulged in because elements intervening subject and verb make it appear advisable to re-state the subject immediately before the verb. Only rarely is there inexcusable pleonasm. The dominant sentence type in Elyot is complex. In 140 sentences there are 30 which are compound, six of those having three main clauses (Nos. 16, 20, 49, 60, 91, 112). Ellipsis occurs occasionally: "More ouer take away ordre from all thynges what shulde than remayne? Certes nothyng finally, except some man wolde imagine eftsones Chaos: whiche of some is expounde a confuse mixture." (G. I. i. 3)

The most important item, however, in determining his sentence sense is the presense of what we now call incomplete sentences. There are 21 of that description among the 140 examined; that is no improvement over Caxton's 16 in 100. Certainly, then, grammatical independence was not a sine qua non to the sentence in Elyot's mind. Some of the fragments contain ideas which are independent enough, it is true, to stand alone, and one might credit Elyot and other writers of his century with an attempt to give those elements their independence, at the same time conveying, by grammatical incompleteness, their dependence on preceding or following sentences. Perhaps that is more literary ingenuity than those writers could have had. It seems more



likely that they had yet to learn that there was no restriction on the number of periods one might use in a given piece of writing. Their sentences were long, so long that at intervals it seemed necessary to come to a full stop for breath, bearing in mind the pattern of the expression begun and picking it up again immediately where it was left off.<sup>31</sup> The breath-taking theory is given more weight by the fact that the fragmentary sentences are relatively long, four having more than fifty words and only five having under twenty.

There is no passage in Elyot's writing which actually wanders away from the original direction. That almost happens in one sentence,

"Edgare, who in the tyme that the Saxons had this realme in subiection, hadde subdued all the other kynges Saxons, and made them his tributaries." (G. III.xiv.241)

where he forgets the relative pronoun in the latter part. The next sentence picks up the idea coherently: "On a tyme he hadde theim...." There are, besides this one, two other fragments (Nos. 75 and 76) which depend upon a following rather than a preceding clause. The great majority of the incomplete periods are those which do depend upon preceding clauses; hence they result not from the writer's

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<sup>31</sup> An example below (pp. 204-5 ) from Cyprian seems to substantiate this conjecture.



losing his way, but from his pausing more emphatically than we would today pause. Of this latter group (18 in number) twelve are relative clauses (Nos. 3, 6, 9, 11, 32, 45, 52, 53, 68, 86, 103, 121); two are participial phrases (Nos. 8, 62); two are substantive clauses (Nos. 78, 105); one is a predicate noun and modifiers (No. 95); and one is a cause clause (No. 17). The relative clauses are introduced by simple relative conjunctions, either as subjects of objects or in prepositional phrases ("in the whose...", "by the which...", etc.), or by relative connectives, such as "Wherin" and "wherat". Four of them have the demonstrative-relative ("Whiche attemptate is nat of presumption to teache..."; "To the whiche protestation I am nowe dryuen..."), based on the Latin, and more immediately probably on the French (cf. "quel livre").

One would expect Elyot's translations and the influence of the original Latin and Greek to throw some light on his conception of a complete sentence. They do, but it is in the direction of strengthening what has already been said about his grammatically incomplete periods. The number of the latter is neither diminished nor increased in the translated pieces. One passage, the opening lines in the Sermon of St. Cyprian, sums up the whole thing. This work begins in this manner:

"Righte wel beloued frendes, all be it that manye of you,





haue your myndes intier & perfecte, the fayth stable, and the soule deuoute: not beinge meued with the hugenessse of this present mortalytie, but like to a puissant & stedfaste rocke rather do breake the troublous assaultes of this worlde, and the violente floodes of this present tyme, the soule herselfe not beinge broken ne ouercome with any temptations, but onely proued. Nethelasse for as moche as I doo consyder to be in the multitude dyuers whiche either by waykenes of courage, or by smalnes of fayth, or by swetenesse of the lyfe of this worlde, or by the delicatenes of theyr kinde, or (that whiche is a more heuye thyng) beyng deceyued in the opinion of truthe, doo not stande faste ne set forth the diuine and inuincible might of their stomakes. I mought no lengre dissemble that mater, ne retaine it in silence, but that as ferre forth as the meanesse of my lernynge or wytte moughte extende I wold declare the doctryne of Christe by a sermone conceyued & lyfely expressed, to the intent that the slouth and dulnesse of delycate myndes mought be reformed. And also that he, whiche hathe all redye professed to be the sernaunte [sic] of Christe, may hereafter be demed worthy of Christe, & therto accepted." (Cyp. pp.124)<sup>32</sup>

What is one sentence, grammatically speaking, Elyot has here punctuated as four, two looking forward and one look-

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. a rather recent translation of the same passage:

"Although in very many of you, dearly beloved brethren, there is a steadfast mind and a firm faith, and a devoted spirit that is not disturbed at the frequency of this present mortality, but, like a strong and stable rock, rather shatters the turbulent onsets of the world and the raging waves of time, while it is not itself shattered, and is not overcome but tried by these temptations; yet because I observe that among the people some, either through weakness of mind, or through decay of faith, or through the sweetness of this worldly life, or through the softness of their sex, or what is of still greater account, through error from the truth, are standing less steadily, and are exerting the divine and unvanquished vigour of their heart, the matter may not be disguised nor kept in silence, but as far as my feeble powers suf-



ing back. His model, the original Latin from which he was translating, was actually in only one sentence:

"Et si apud plurimos vestrum, fratres dilectissimi, mens solida est, & fides firma, & anima deuota, quæ ad præsentis mortalitatis copiam non mouetur, sed tamquam petra fortis & stabilis turbidos impetus mundi, & violentos sæculi fluctus frangit potius ipsa, nec strangitur, & tentationibus non vincitur, sed probatur: tamen quia animaduerto in plebe quosdam vel imbecillitate animi, vel fidei prauitate, vel dulcedine sæcularis vitæ, vel sexus mollitie, vel, quod maius est, veritatis errore, minus stare fortiter, nec pectoris sui diuinum atque inuictum robur exerere, dissimulandares non fuit nec tacenda, quo minus quantum nostra mediocritas potest, vigore pleno & sermone de dominica lectione concepto, delicatæ mentis ignauia cōprimatur, & qui homo Dei & Christi esse iam cœpit, Deo & Christo dignus habeatur."33

In this passage, the two sections which appear in Elyot's rendering as the first two incomplete clauses have very clear independent predication, and what Elyot has made his last sentence is clearly an adjunct coordinate with the predicate-noun clause before it. It seems, then, that Elyot unfortunately lacked a conception of the sentence, in point not only of length but also of structure. This much is to be said for him: he certainly did not deliberately

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(32 continued) fice with my full strength, and with a discourse gathered from the Lord's lessons, the slothfulness of a luxurious disposition must be restrained, and he who has begun to be already a man of God and of Christ, must be found worthy of God and of Christ."

(Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Vol. VIII, The Writings of Cyprian, Edinburgh, 1868, p. 453).

33 De Cæcilii Cypriani Carthaginensis Episcopi, et gloriosissimi Martyris Opera. By Iones Iacobi Pamelii. "Editio ultima prioribus emendatior." Publ. by Ioannes le Preux, 1593, p. 340, ff.



commit an error of this sort for stylistic effect; he seems rather to have used the full stop as a kind of relief in the middle of only partially unified sentences, while in his mind he always carried the expression to its grammatical completion. Moreover, in his original writing one does not find so bad a blunder as in the passage just quoted from Cyprian, and it is very likely that the effort at translation is to blame, that in the attempt to render the Latin into pure English he so changed the sentence structure that the pattern was lost sight of. That is not justification but a possible explanation.

The chief conclusion is that, though with him the English sentence is still too long and though he does not hold for grammatically complete periods, Elyot aided the rise of the participial construction to the place of prominence which it occupies in modern English prose, and, particularly on the point of sub-dependence of subordinate elements, helped greatly to reduce the syntactical tangle in which the English prose sentence had so long existed; that in coherence-- if not, because of length, in unity-- his sentences are definitely an improvement over what had preceded him. He tends, in all his writing, to throw the kernel of his idea into the main predication of his sentence, and to progress rather than merely to amplify or explain in the subordinate elements of his structure. Aurner finds that "Bacon closes the age of trial and error, and of pure



experiment. With him the English sentence finds itself, and leaps far beyond its century."<sup>34</sup> Also, Aurner says that in Samuel Johnson's prose "all trace of double subject, connective-demonstrative which, inadmissible idiom, incomplete sentence, dangling participle, indeed of any syntactical carelessness, has disappeared."<sup>35</sup> As to the time or writer that finally grasped the modern notion of a sentence we cannot speak too confidently, but this much we know, that sixteenth-century writers were by no means oblivious of the needs of their language in the sentence as well as in vocabulary, and that Thomas Elyot manifests himself in his writing to have had under constant study the illustration du langage from a syntactical standpoint.

## II

### Style

Recently Mr. Theodore Stenberg has made a point of Queen Elizabeth's practice of Euphuism and of her possible influence on the growth of that style in English. Holding that she was probably influenced by the style of her tutor, Ascham, and basing his remarks on Elizabeth's letters from 1550 to 1579, Stenberg finds that "For more than thirty years before the publication of Lyly's romances, Elizabeth practiced Euphuism-- or something very much like it."<sup>36</sup> And

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<sup>34</sup> Phil. Quart., 2:196.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 2:202.





further, "What would be more natural than that courtiers like Gascoigne and Lyly should flatter the Queen in her own style, as well as strive to go her one better in the practice of that style?"<sup>37</sup> Stenberg does not intend, surely, to claim for Elizabeth the honor of originating the style, but the implications of that article read alone are unfortunately not far-reaching enough. Since the late sixteenth century, when Lyly was hailed as its originator and exemple par excellence, the Euphuistic style has been traced back to George Pettie, to the Spanish Bishop Guevara, to a general European interest in the style, and finally, by Morris W. Croll<sup>38</sup> in particular, to classical Latin authors. F. Landmann<sup>39</sup> gave the honors to Guevara. Lee<sup>40</sup> concurred in that opinion and held that Lord Berners, who early showed Guevaristic influences and who in 1534<sup>41</sup> translated from the French version Guevara's biography of Marcus Aurelius, was the true parent of Euphuism or Guevarism in England. Both these scholars considered Thomas North's Diall (1557-- also a translation of Guevara from French) as the immediate source and inspiration of Lyly's Euphues. As early as 1910 Feuillerat<sup>42</sup> began the dissent

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<sup>36</sup> "Elizabeth as Euphuist before Euphues". Tex. Stud. in Eng., 8:77.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 8:78.

<sup>38</sup> See the Introduction to his edition of Euphues (1916).

<sup>39</sup> Der Euphuismus, Giessen, 1881.

<sup>40</sup> Edition of Berners' Huon of Bordeaux, Append. I, EETS 50.

<sup>41</sup> The Golden Book.

<sup>42</sup> John Lyly: Contribution a L'Histoire de la Ren-



and prepared the way for Croll's position by holding that North and Guevara were opposed to the Euphuists-- that they were Ciceronians, whereas Lyly's alert vivacity and epigrammatic quality are in the French manner. J. W. Bright<sup>43</sup> suggested an entertainment of doubt concerning the continuity of development from Berners through North by suggesting a comparison of those writers' linguistic attainments and of the French editions from which they translated. As late as 1928 Miss Jeffery<sup>44</sup> argued that the fact that Guevara's "alto estilo" became famous indicates a growing taste for such writing in other countries; she then proceeded to claim that Euphuism in England grew from the imitation also of the more artificial Italian poems of the time, as well as from an original English interest in the style. In his study of More, Delcourt assumes Euphuism as a fact early in the sixteenth century:

"Et Tindale, et Fisher, et Berners et Elyot connaissent et pratiquent plus ou moins, eux aussi, l'allitération, la rime et le parallélisme, et si la tendance est surtout marquée chez le second de ces maîtres, qui est plus soucieux d'harmonie que les autres, elle est cependant assez évidente chez tous pour qu'on puisse, sans crainte de se tromper, la rattacher à une mode déjà répandue de leur temps. Cette mode, nous avons à peine besoin de l'indiquer, est celle qu'on devait appeler plus tard l'euphuisme,-- bien quelle ne date pas de l'Euphués, quie n'en est qu'une manifestation plus complète si plus variée que les autres." (Op. cit., p. 304)

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(42 continued) aissance en Angleterre (Cambridge, 1910).

<sup>43</sup> Amer. Jour. of Phil., 25:203. Review of R. W. Bond's Lyly.

<sup>44</sup> John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance (Paris, 1928).



History seems to prove that these stylistic artificialities, or some very, very similar ones, are natural and inevitable as any language approaches its golden age. If these devices are to be found in the classical languages, if they were beginning to make their appearance in the already awakened Italy, then one must expect to find them in the awakening England of the sixteenth century. The style was becoming popular all over Western Europe. Now, it is unknown whether Elyot actually read Guevara before he began publishing. Landmann accepted the now rejected theory that Elyot went on an embassy to Rome and believed firmly that in passing on his way through Madrid he became acquainted with Guevara's book<sup>45</sup> and used it as a model in type, form, and treatment. There is now no support for such a conjecture. At any rate, Elyot was abreast of the times, and those times were seeing the rapid development of this ornamental writing. Nothing is more natural than to expect some evidences of this growing taste in his writing. He who was so much interested in the "phrase or fourme of speakynge" and in the "quicke and propre sentences pronounced by the Greekes" can hardly be expected not to turn some of these devices to the attainment of his paramount

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45 Guevara began his book in 1518. In 1524, in the preface to Berners' Froissart, there are to be found the peculiarities of Euphuism; Miss Jeffery thinks, however, that, even though pirated editions of Guevara's work had been published, Berners had not read Guevara. Berners' Golden Book came in 1534.



purpose, the improvement of the English language.

In him one finds parallelism, balance, participial constructions, and some alliteration, similes, metaphors, but only a slight use of figures of rhetoric in general. Parallelism served him well for clarity in exposition. He uses it within a sentence:

(Single construction)

"Beholde also the ordre that god hath put generally in al his creatures, begynnyng at the moste inferiour or base, and assendynge upward: he made not only herbes to garnisse the erthe, but also trees of a more eminent stature than herbes, and yet in the one and the other be degrees of qualitees; some pleasant to beholde, some delicate or good in taste, other holsome and medicinable, some commodious and necessary."

(G. I.i.4)

(Change of construction)

"Semblably in byrdes, bestis, and fisshes, some be good for the sustinance of man, some beare thynges profitable to sondry uses, other be apte to occupation and labour; in diuerse is strenth and fiersenes only; in many is both strength and commoditie; some other serue for pleasure; none of them hath all these qualities; fewe haue the more part or many, specially beautie, strength, and profite." (G. I.i.4)

and through several sentences:

"The ayer, whiche next to the fyre is most pure in substance, ~~is~~ in the seconde sphere or place. The water, whiche is somewhat consolidate, and approacheth to corruption, is next unto the erthe. The erthe, whiche is of substance grosse and ponderous, is set of all elementes most lowest." (G. I.i.3-4)

Balance occurs in lengthy sentences:

"And like as the angels whiche be most feruent in con-





templation be highest exalted in glorie, (after the opinion of holy doctours), and also the fire whiche is the most pure of elementes, is deputed to the highest sphere or place; so in this worlde, they whiche excellen other in this influence of understandynge, and do imploye it to the detaynyng of other within the boundes of reason, and shewe them howe to prouyde for theyr necessarye lyuynge; suche oughte to be set in a more highe place than the residue where they may se and also be sene; that by the beames of theyr excellent witte, shewed through the glasse of auctorite, other of inferiour understandynge may be directed to the way of vertue and commodious liuynge." (G. I. i. 5)

"It was loue, noble Atheniensis, the same loue whyche (as youre poetes do remembre) dydde wounde the more parte of all the goddes that ye do honoure, that constrained Juppiter to transfourme hym selfe in a swanne, a bulle, and diuers other lykenesses; the same loue that caused Hercules, the vainquisshe and distroyer of Monstres and Geauntes, to spyne on a rocke, sittinge amonge maydens in a womans apparayle; the same loue that caused to assemble all the noble princes of Asia and Greece in the felde of Troy; the same loue, I saye, agayne whose assaultes may be founde no defence or resistance, hath sodainely and unware striken me unto the harte with suche vehemence and myght, that I had in shorte space died with moste feruent tourmentes, hadde nat the incomparable frendship of Gysippus holpen me." (G. II. xii. 176)

and in short sentences:

"So the husbnde man fedethe hym selfe and the clothe maker; the clothe maker apparayleth hym selfe and the husbnde: they both socour other artificers: other artificers them: they and other artificers them that be gouernours." (G. I. i. 5-6)

The fact that all these examples come from a passage of slightly more than two pages is a significant indication of Elyot's use of these patterns. It is only natural that one finds them less numerous in narzative than in exposit-



ory writing. Sometimes he loses sight of parallelism when the use of it would be a decided improvement. In the first sentence of Cyprian a present passive participle is followed, in a parallel idea, by a finite verb form, and the participial construction is picked up again immediately:

"Right wel beloued frendes, all be it that manye of you, haue your myndes intier & perfecte, the fayth stable, and the soule deuoute: not beinge meued with the hugenesse of this present mortalytie, but like to a puissant & stedfaste rocke rather do breake the troublous assaultes of this worlde, and the violente floodes of this present tyme, the soule herselfe not beinge broken ne ouercome with any temptations, but onely proued."

In the Castel of Helth (fol. 43) there is the dubious construction in which a temporal clause is introduced first by the adverb where and later, in a parallel element, by that:

"This is alway to be remembred, that where one seleth hymselfe full, and greued with his dyner, or the sauoure of his meate by eructation ascēdeth or that his stomake is weke by late syckenesse or moche study, than is it most conuenient, to absteyne from supper..."

Participles-- though not essentially characteristic of Euphuism, yet abounding in that style-- are numerous, as we have seen, both present and past, ordinary and absolute. Almost any page in Elyot has several examples of all types of participial phrases.



"With whiche answere the prince nothyng appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeouored hym selfe to take away his seruaunt. The iuge consideringe the perilous example and inconuenience that moughte therby ensue, with a valiant spirite and courage commaunded the prince upon his alegeance to leue the prisoner and departe his waye. With whiche commandment the prince, being set all in a fury, all chafed, and in a terrible maner, came up to the place of iugement-- men thinkyng that he wolde haue slaynes the iuge, or haue done to hym some damage; but the iuge sittynge styll, without mouynge, declarynge the maiestie of the kynges place of iugement, and with an assured and bolde countenance, hadde to the prince these words folowyng: ..." (G. II. vi. 139-40. From the story that Henry VI, as heir-apparent, tried to interfere in the trial of one of his servants.)

Feuillerat finds alliteration-- simple, cross, and transverse-- in the Doctrinal of Princes.

Examples:

"How maie any man content any suche persons, either by prechyng or teaching, or tellyng of any thyng that is profitable." (DP., 16; Feuillerat, p. 456)

"Nor in dedes that be moste convenient; nor yet in doctrine that is most commodious." (DP., 16; Feuillerat, p. 457)

That, however, is a book of pithy sayings translated from Plutarch. Because of the nature of the work and the influence of the original, alliteration is natural there. In general, it is a facetious subtlety in which Elyot does not indulge. It is not a characteristic of his style.

In spite of the general sparsity of rhetorical figures in Elyot, similes and metaphors abound, because of their illustrative as well as their stylistic value.



"...suche they which excell others in understanding oughte to be set in a more highe place than the residue where they may se and also be sene; that by the beames of theyr excellent witte, shewed throughe the glasse of auctorite, other of inferiour understandyng may be directed to the way of vertue and commodious liuynge."  
(G. I.1.5)

"And like as in houndes is a power or disposition to hunte, in horses and grehoundes an aptitude to renne swiftly, so in the soules of men is ingenerate a leme of science, whiche with the mixture of a terrestriall substaunce is obfuscate or made darke..."  
(G. III.xxiii.273)

From the syntax and style of the sentence, one could easily step into the realm of general literary style. He could observe the use of conventional oaths and the occasional lightness of touch which they introduce; the sort of humor in which Elyot sometimes indulges, ranging from the lighter vein in his comparison of the inconstancy of children and of women (G. III.xix. 254), to somewhat less joviality on the subject of the paucity of good schoolmasters (G. I.xv.70-1), and to bitterness about the materialistic ideas of his contemporaries (G. I.xiii.61); the humor, speed, and good nature of the Defence of Good Women as contrasted with the scholarliness of the Gouvernour; the success of Elyot in narrative and in expository writing; his good use of illustration and the fiber of his mind in exposition; and, finally, an occasional and slight use of allegory (as at G. I. xxi. 94, in the passages on dancing). Having made these observations one would find it difficult





to describe Elyot's literary style in one word or one phrase. Several things it is not. It is not light or playful, for one thing; it is not exactly solemn, for another. It may be described as "serious", even as "sober", if one rejects the extreme connotation of the latter word; too much feeling is there to permit for it a pallid description. Elyot's head is usually high, but his face is never long. Occasionally, if for but a moment at a time, he is somewhat informal, thus lowering the platform from which he speaks and bringing himself closer to the listeners. Alliteration appears seldom; punning and gross humor are entirely beneath him. His style is hardly the "didactique froideur" that Delcourt<sup>46</sup> finds it. That is too strong, but lest we be guilty of over-stating the contradiction, let us say simply that among his contemporaries-- More the natural and good-humored, Tindale of the common people, lacking a very good sense of composition and of humor, Fisher the orderly and eloquent preacher, master of noble harmony-- among these Elyot stands as the most seriously learned writer of the early sixteenth century, lacking in large part the desired lightness of touch but approaching too near to it to be called austere.

Those criticisms are, however, really in the province of literature rather than of language. The linguist has

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46 Op.cit., p. 311.



reached the limit of his territory as a linguist when he has analyzed the structure of the sentences and those means of effectiveness which are in the main syntactical. That done, he observes that Elyot is very utilitarian and that his utilitarianism shows up nowhere more definitely than in his language and linguistic interests. Where clarity is necessary to success it is apt in time to be achieved, and such, a perfectly clear exposition, was the aim of most of the prose writers of the early Renaissance period. But clarity and utilitarianism were not enough for them. In classical literature they found this quality, but also others-- grace, beauty, effectiveness-- and they set this latter alongside practicality as an aim. The combination of these aims and the actual linguistic influences from foreign tongues produced most of the syntactical and stylistic developments that we have just been considering. Elyot, also, had these aims in mind, and not only felt but welcomed these influences. Without the present-day opportunities to serve an apprenticeship, he mastered the language, and with More shares the distinction of having written the most distinguished English prose in the first half of the sixteenth century. In diction, syntax, and style, he attained to a considerable force and beauty.

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## Chapter VI

### Linguistic Science in the Late Sixteenth Century

In retrospect over the rise of the English language, we can in the third quarter of the sixteenth century proclaim with Henry Olney, "The stormie Winter (deere Chyl-dren of the Muses) which hath so long held backe the glorious Sunshine of diuine Poesie, is heere... not onely chased from our fame-inviting Clyme, but vtterly for euer banisht eternitie."<sup>1</sup> This was written with specific regard to the "sacred pen-breathing words of diuine Sir Philip Sidney," but they applied equally as well to the times. Men were already living, in the 70's and 80's of that century, who were to do more to fix our language and to immortalize our literature than had been done before or has been done since. Not only were they disclosing new methods of arriving at truth; they were also inventing new forms for its expression.

The four great forces in the awakening England-- Printing, Humanism, Teutonism, and Nationalism-- moved on apace,

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<sup>1</sup> P. Sidney, Apologie for Poetrie. Ed. Edward Arber. 1901. A foreword by Henry Olney.



each acting upon and reacting to the others. It was both a light and a grave age. It was "merrie" England. On the one hand, there was daring and adventure, discovery and commercial growth, gallantry and courtly gaiety; on the other, there was a preoccupation with morality and citizenship, a fight "for sound education, for good classical scholarship, for the purity of written English, and behind all these for the strength and worth of the native English character."<sup>2</sup> To the champions of these graver interests we are indebted for the learning that came to England in increasing amounts throughout the sixteenth century. It was by them that England came, in Ascham's words, "to know, much rather than to live."

By Teutonism and Nationalism one means two degrees of the same thing. The former has to do with religious development, which did not cease with Tyndale and Henry VIII, but which continued even in the Tyndale manner for many years to come. The translation of the Bible into the vernacular continued to be of great importance and to exercise a lasting influence on the English language--in Edward VI's short reign there were thirty-five editions of the New Testament and thirteen editions of the whole Bible. In this religious struggle the Teutonic races were aligned against the Latin. The step to Nationalism

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<sup>2</sup> G. H. Mair, edition of Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique, 1909, p. xxvii.





was easy and natural. A combination of the new-born independence and a fear of an undesirable foreign influence coincident with the rise of the New Learning so increased national pride and confidence that the possibilities for England and English seemed unbounded. In Shakespeare's early years English men of letters-- to keep within our own field here-- were not content with garnering learning from the classics; they were testing their own mettle, thinking their own thoughts, and devising their own expression. Translation continued, it is true. There were Phaer's Vergil (1562), Golding's Ovid (1565-75), Twyne's Vergil (1573 ; a completion of the work begun by Phaer), Googe's Palingenius (1560), Flemming's Eclogues (1575) and Bucolics of Vergil (1589), North's Plutarch (1579), and the many renderings, by "the laudable authors" in English, of Seneca, Horace, Cicero, and the other classical writers.<sup>3</sup> Simultaneously with this work, creative or original poetry was burgeoning into its fairest state.

Let us, in bidding farewell to Elyot, for the time being, glance rapidly at the tendencies in language and in linguistic thought for the half century after his death. Let us observe, first, the use and appraisal that the age immediately after him made of the English language;

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<sup>3</sup> There is an exhaustive list of sixteenth-century translations from the classics in the Appendix to Ch. H. Conley's The First English Translators of the Classics, Yale Press, 1927.



the character# and number of books on rhetoric and grammar; the tendency to examine more closely the nature of speech, of the English speech in particular; and, finally, the part that Elyot's work played in the scholarship of his successors.

One man, writing of Richard Mulcaster, says, "There was but one man... who loved its [the mother tongue's] past, did not despair of the present, and predicted for it a glorious future,... and who himself took the initiative in improving it. That man was Richard Mulcaster."<sup>4</sup> It seems acceptably true that, so far, at least, as written record is concerned, Mulcaster's was the strongest interest in the English language manifested before 1600, that he did contribute, from a strictly philological point of view, the most ambitious and valuable piece of work of the century; but to say that he alone loved his mother tongue and took the initiative in improving it is enthusiasm for one's subject ad absurdum. That love had been manifest and that initiative had been taken years before him. Though the school charters early in the century had allowed "neither redyng of Englisshe butt such as shall concern lernynge of gramer,"<sup>5</sup> and Palsgrave could complain in 1540 of men well learned in Latin but unable "to ex-

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4 Leo Wiener, "Richard Mulcaster as an Elizabethan Philologist." MLN, xii, No. 3, pp. 129-39.

5 F. Watson, The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in English Schools, 1909, p. 43.



presse their conceit in their vulgar tongue,"<sup>6</sup> the ability even to read the classical languages readily was waning by the middle of the century, according to the complaints particularly of Elyot and Ascham, and English was advancing in popularity. Early humanists (Vives, Elyot, and, somewhat later, Ascham, for example) had included a study of the vernacular in the educational program of the upper classes, and after the middle of the century English books were occasionally used in the schools. The progress of the new faith in religion and the general interest in preaching and singing in English greatly enhanced the chances of the vernacular. To these general movements the efforts of individual scholars and poets were added.

Roger Ascham, whose Toxophilus was published one year before Elyot's death, "deigned not only to teach the art of shooting, but to give an example of diction more natural and more truly English than was used by the common writers of the age." His style is genuinely English, "which to the ears of that age was undoubtedly mellifluous."<sup>7</sup> As late as the publication of Toxophilus it was still more "honest for one's name" to write in Latin,<sup>8</sup> yet Ascham was satis-

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<sup>6</sup> In the Dedication of Acolastus.

<sup>7</sup> J. A. Giles, The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, 1864, Vol. I, p. xxxi, footnote.

<sup>8</sup> Ascham's words are "... to have written it [Toxophilus] in another tongue, had been both more profitable



fied if, losing some of that profit and name, he might further a bit "the pleasure of commodity of the gentlemen and yeomen of England."<sup>9</sup> He was a classical scholar and considered that God had left us "the trew preceptes, and perfite examples of eloquence... in no other tong, saue onelie in the Greke and the Latin tong."<sup>10</sup> At the same time he held the rudeness of native English no excuse for poor and ignorant speaking; through the oft-heard-of process of "imitation" (not of language alone, but of thought and manner), he advised his countrymen to improve their learning in English by the use of the classics. By Cicero's own confession, even the Latin language was not "able it selfe to make him so cunning in his owne tong, as he was in deede: but the knowledge and Imitation of the Greeke tong withall."<sup>11</sup>

Sir Thomas Wilson at first feared greatly that his attempt to provide a textbook of logic on the vulgar tongue, his Rule of Reason (1551), would meet with a very harsh reception. After seeing it enjoy a considerable vogue, however, he became bold enough in his Arte of Rhetorique (1553) to shower unqualified praise on the language: "And yet the cunning is no lesse, and the prayse as great in my iudge-

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(8 continued) for my study, and also more honest for my name,..." (Toxoph., "To the Gentlemen and Yeomen of England").

<sup>9</sup> Toxophilus, "Address to the Gentlemen and Yeomen of England."

<sup>10</sup> Scholemaster, ed. by Edw. Arber, 1895.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 127.





ment, to translate any thing excellently into Englishe, as into any other language."<sup>12</sup> Pettie opposed the adverse critics of the English speech with the boast that he could write in English "as copiously for varietie, as compendiously for brevitie, as choicely for words, as pithilie for sentences, as pleasantlie for figures, and everie waie as eloquentlie as anie writer should do in anie vulgar tongue whatsoever."<sup>13</sup> That boast contains the restricted comparison with vulgar tongues. Sidney placed no such restriction:

"I know, some will say it is a mingled language. And why not so much the better, taking the best of both the other? Another will say it wanteth Grammer. Nay truly, it hath that prayse, that it wanteth not Grammer: for Grammer it might haue, but it needes it not; beeing so easie of it selfe, and so voyd of those cumbersome differences of Cases, Genders, Moodes, and Tenses, which I thinke was a peece of the Tower of Babilons curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother-tongue. But for the vttering sweetly, and properly the conceits of the minde, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world: and is particularly happy, in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latine: which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language." (Apologie, ed. by Arber, 1901, p. 70)

In 1586 William Webbe published his appraisal of English poetry and its possibilities.<sup>14</sup> In his estimation, the language was not yet perfect; Spenser, he thought, would

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<sup>12</sup> Introduction, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Preface to his translation of Guazzo's Ciuile Conversation (1581).

<sup>14</sup> A Discourse of English Poetrie.



have surpassed Theocritus and Vergil, had "the courses  
of our speche... been no more let vnto him, then theyr  
pure native tongues were vnto them."<sup>15</sup> Yet on August  
8, 1591, he wrote to Robert Wilmott, urging him to pub-  
lish his Tancred and Gismund, "adorning him with the ap-  
prooued guise of our stateliest Englishe termes (not  
diminishing, but augmenting his artificiall colours of  
absolute poesie, deriued from his first parents)."<sup>16</sup>  
He proposed the work of the "Auncient Chroniclers and  
reporters of our Country affayres"<sup>17</sup> as material at hand  
and deplored the fact that, though "eloqution" had pros-  
pered in English, her sister, poetry, was very much re-  
tarded. He joined the chorus that Latin poetry, even  
up to Cicero's time, was not highly esteemed, but that  
through the efforts of those devoted to its improvement  
it occupied, at Vergil's time, a position of high respect.  
Rime was a degraded form of verse; however, "in our Eng-  
lish tongue it beareth so good grace, or rather better,  
then in any other,"<sup>18</sup> and if there was any ornament in  
rime, it was due solely to the "plentifull fulnesse of our  
speche."<sup>19</sup> English verse could be made "to run upon true  
quantity," adopting the Latin feet where possible and de-

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15 Ibid., ed. by Edw. Arber, 1895, p. 53.

16 Ibid., p. 5.

17 Ibid., p. 45.

18 Ibid., p. 57.

19 Ibid., p. 64.



vising new rules where necessary.<sup>20</sup> He recommended a comparison of Golding's Metamorphosis with the original "to prooue, that the English tongue lacketh neyther variety nor currantnesse of phrase for any matter."<sup>21</sup>

Puttenham, whose Arte of English Poesie is usually considered the largest and ablest criticism of English poesie during Elizabeth's reign, thought of English as "no lesse copious pithie and significatiue then theirs [the Romans and the Greeks], our conceits the same, our wits no lesse apt to deuise and imitate then theirs were;"<sup>22</sup> again, that English had been "so much beautified" that it might "compare with the most."<sup>23</sup> To carry our survey further, we may mention Daniel's prophecy of the glorious destiny of the English language (in Musophilus, 1599, and quoted in Courthope's History of English Poetry, Vol. III, p. 23), and to Carew's "Epistle on the Excellency of the English Tongue" (in the second edition of Camden's Remains, 1605). We may omit a lengthy comment on Mulcaster here because he is more significant in another connection. He took "this present period of our English tung to be the verie height thereof, bycause I find it so excellentlie well fined, both for the bodie of the tung it self, and for the customarie writing thereof,

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20 Ibid., pp. 67-8.

21 Ibid., p. 51.

22 Arte of English Poesie, ed. by Edw. Arber, 1906, p. 21.

23 Ibid., p. 73.



as either foren workmanship can giue it glosse, or as homewrought hanling can giue it grace."<sup>24</sup>

The significant fact is that by the 1580's the frequent laments over the language at the beginning of the century have turned to frequent praise and confidently unqualified predictions for its future greatness. Mulcaster was even wise enough to recognize the Elizabethan period as a golden age of the language. Professor Aitkin has written that "Modern English is the fitting medium of an age which leaves little unexplained; while Elizabethan English stands for an age too hasty to analyse what it felt. The one has the virtues of maturity, a logic, uncompromising and clear: the other, a vigour and a felicity, the saving graces of youth."<sup>25</sup> Elizabethans must have felt that vigour and felicity, and a musical quality to be observed especially in the translations of the Bible. But it must be borne in mind that they held not the language but its users responsible for its success. Du Bellay had written in his Deffense that some languages, "plus curieusement regleés," became richer than others not because of any inherent felicity but because of the "artifice et industrie des hommes."<sup>26</sup> And in 1582 Mulcaster wrote, "Our brains can bring forth, our conceits

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<sup>24</sup> Elementarie, ed. by E. T. Campagnac, 1925, p. 178.

<sup>25</sup> CHEL, Vol. III, p. 465.

<sup>26</sup> In this connection see H. O. Taylor, Thought and its Expression in the Sixteenth Century, 1920, p. 334-5.





will bear life: our tongues be not tied, and our labor is our own. And eloquence itself is neither limited to language, nor restrained to soil, whose measure the whole world is, whose judge the wise ear is, not in greatness of state, but in sharpness of people."<sup>27</sup>

The most important linguistic developments of the century were in vocabulary. It was inevitable that such rapid growth as the Renaissance brought on should embody much radicalism and extremism. Equally as inevitable was the opposition to excited "improvement." In reality, there were three tendencies: to Latinism, to Purism, and to Archaism.

We have already noted that Elyot saw fit early in his literary career to defend his diction against attacks. In the Preface to the Castel of Helth he stoutly defended his use of the vernacular and his additions to the English vocabulary, admitting the latter to be strangers but contending that they were everywhere made clear to English readers. Early in the century, then, there was opposition to the men who were ambitious for the mother tongue, and who in their zeal were concocting certain words that were not to last. They were not by any means alone in this "sin", but they were opposed, nevertheless, by men who profited by their labors and who were occasionally guilty

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<sup>27</sup> Op.cit., p. xxiv.



of the same "offense". The opposition was headed by Sir John Cheke. Since he himself did very little writing, his influence was exerted in the capacity of teacher, and his doctrine was spread in print by his students, Ascham and, above all, Sir Thomas Wilson. Cheke has left us only one clear and extensive statement of his position, that familiar passage in which is the superb sentence, "I am of this opinion that our tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing of other tungen, wherin if we take not heed by tijm, ever borowing and never paying, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt."<sup>28</sup> Cheke recognized the virtues of English, but he was one of those who saw only affectation in borrowing. It is in their favor, however, that to the Latinisms of a genuinely learned and conservative man the purists did not object. With the unschooled the process of assimilation was a slow and laborious one; from them came the hollow and unmeaningful extremes of the new tendency in language.

In 1545 Ascham was dubious about English, and rather cynically judged its future by what he styled a crude and barbarous past. His attack was not limited to diction. As late as 1570 he attacked the "Englese Italianate", his speech, his thought, his manner, his morals. The word

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<sup>28</sup> Letter to Thomas Hoby. See Arber's ed. of Ascham's Scholemaster, 1895, p. 5.



he uses as an excuse to point out that the word itself "is no more vnkowne now to plaine Englishe men, than the Person was vnkowne somtyme in England, vntill som Englishe man tooke peines to fetch that deuclish opinion out of Italie."<sup>29</sup> Dark and hard words were a disgrace to an Englishman's writing. There was, admittedly, a way open for the increase of the tongue, the method Cicero had used for the Latin; but "this way, because diuers men that write do not know, they can neither follow it, because of their ignorance, nor yet will praise it for very arrogancy, two faults, seldom the one out of the others company."<sup>30</sup> Although Ascham does not tell us what Cicero's method was, we take it he means the imitation of spirit and thought. As to Ascham's own writing, his aim was to "follow this counsell of Aristotile, to speake as the common people do, to thinke as wise men do."<sup>31</sup> Doublets and lengthy explanations of new words do not occur in Ascham, as they do in Elyot. He uses few figures of rhetoric. The Latinism in his Toxophilus is approximately ten per cent; in the Scholemaster, about fifteen per cent. He retains some very old forms, as, for example, yougthe 'youth', at page 60 of the Scholemaster. He succeeded admirably in writing pure and genuine English.

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29 Scholemaster, ed. by Edw. Arber, 1895, p. 82.

30 Toxophilus, ed. by J. A. Giles, 1864, p. 7.

31 Ibid., p. 7.



Thomas Wilson bore the brunt of the battle which Cheke conducted. His work, by inference and by anecdote, shows the extent to which the new learning had permeated the court life of England. His book is full of illustrations of the vices he attacked. His concern was with Latinisms and archaisms as well: "The fine courtier wil talke nothing but Chaucer,"<sup>32</sup> he complained. His letter of a Lincolnshire man<sup>33</sup> definitely opposes, by way of ridicule, the folly of inkhornism, not improvement. "Doest wit rest in straunge wordes, or els standeth it in wholesome matter, and apt declaring of a mans minde? Doe wee not speake because we would haue other to vnderstande vs, or is not the tongue giuen for this ende, that one might know what an other meaneth?"<sup>34</sup> Moreover, Wilson favored the appropriation of proper and helpful foreign words, provided only that care be taken that they fit into the genius of the native speech. He has much to say on this matter.<sup>35</sup> He placed four conditions, "First that such words as we vse, should be proper vnto the tongue wherein wee speake, againe, that they bee plaine for all men to perceiue: thirdly, that they be apt and meete, most properly to sette out the matter. Fourthly, that words translated from one signification to an other (called of the Gracians Trope) be vsed

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<sup>32</sup> Arte of Rhetorique, ed. by G. H. Mair, 1909, p.162.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 163-4.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 165 ff.





to beautifie the sentence, as precious stones are set in a ring to commende the gold."<sup>36</sup> (It is notable that Elyot, though occasionally carried too far by his enthusiasm, was attentive to these very considerations proposed by his opponent in scholarship). Wilson's own language is relatively pure English. A few obsolete words are to be found, but, as has been said, he hated archaisms as well as Latinisms. His repeated use of gerunds for definition<sup>37</sup> serve well to illustrate the error of his stand against Latin.

Spenser championed a peculiar kind of purism, that of re-establishing in good usage archaic English words. In this program he was supported by the tenets of the Pleiade group in France and the so-called "Areopagus" group in England, who proposed the embellishment of vernaculars not only by borrowing from other tongues, chiefly the classical, but also by salvaging some of the neglected linguistic treasures from the storehouses of the vernaculars themselves. Since, therefore, Sidney belonged to the group which held these tenets, his criticism is not entirely adverse when he writes of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar, "That framing of his

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<sup>36</sup> Loc.cit.

<sup>37</sup> Insinuation is 'a priuie twining or close creeping in'; a conclusion is 'the handsomely lapping vp together, and brief heaping of all that which was said before, stirring the hearers by large vtteraunce, and plentiful gathering of good matter, either the one way or the other.' See the Arte of Rhetorique, ed. by G. H. Mair, 1909, p.xxv.



stile, to an old rustick language, I dare not alowe, sith neyther Theocritus in Greeke, Virgill in Latine, nor Sanazar in Italian, did affect it."<sup>38</sup> His emphasis, it is clear, is on the lack of tradition; but the inference of that criticism is that he allied himself not so much with the purists as with the saner members of the opposite group.

Gabriel Harvey was an out and out Latinist, opposed to Thomas Nashe, whose contribution to the dispute was to support the idea of forming new word-symbols for thought by making the English "single money of monosyllables" into compounds.<sup>39</sup> Pettie was a zealous defender of borrowing: "I meruaile how oure English tongue hath crackt it [sic] credit, that it may nor borrow of the Latin as well as other tongues;" many new words had been brought in in recent years, he said, "which if they should be all counted ink-pot tearmes, I know not how we should speak ani thing without blacking our mouths with inke."<sup>40</sup>

Other men of the period were reconciled to the elevated diction which their language had come to possess and contented themselves with directing the course of further modifications and growth. In this group were Webbe and

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<sup>38</sup> Apologie, ed. by Edw. Arber, 1901, p. 63.

<sup>39</sup> This was Sidney's notion too (cf. p. 225 above, end of the quotation). And Spenser's poetry has many instances of the use of this method.

<sup>40</sup> G. H. McKnight, Modern English in the Making, 1928, p. 144.



Puttenham; and Gascoigne, whose conservatism consisted only of a preference to err on the side of keeping old English words rather than to borrow such "Epithets and Adjectives as smell of the Inkhorne." Although there are frequently surprising Anglicisms, such as Puttenham's "the shutting vp of this chapter,"<sup>41</sup> there are equally surprising foreignisms, such as "caveates", "mot", and "siecle". These men had come to be opposed, in the main, only to "extreme licentiousnesse [licence]." Their diction is about twenty per cent Latin in origin, but this element is less conspicuous than it was early in the century because it has come to be more skillfully incorporated into the speech, and because it has now passed through a proper introduction and enjoys the state of denizenship.

Mulcaster makes an approach to the matter which, in its logic and scope, is unique in his century. In speaking of "Enfranchisement", he points out that, while Englishmen "neither encūbred their braines with much studie, neither bissied their heds with great trafik, neither pleased their fantasies with far trauell," their need required only their home terms. "But after that the desire of learning enflamed studie, the longing for gain brought great traffik, the delight to range, did cause

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<sup>41</sup> Arte of English Poesie, ed. by Edw. Arber, 1906, p. 205.



men trauell, new occasions brought furth new words, as either more cunning made waie to more terms, or as strange deuises did seke strange deliueries." Therefore, having accepted borrowing as an established habit in the language, he states quite effectively the extent to which "Art" and "Prerogative" (Mulcaster's terms for Composition and the Genius of the Language, respectively) should operate in making those enfranchised words English.<sup>42</sup> Chapter xxv of his *Elementarie* consists of a General Table of approximately 8500 words which he has labelled according to their history in English. Very few are marked "enfranchised". It cannot be possible that he thought of only those few as non-English, for the majority of the words are of foreign origin. Reference to the New English Dictionary reveals that those labelled "enfranchised" were recent acquisitions; therefore, we are safe in assuming that a large part of the element that was really foreign was accepted by his time as English. This same acceptance has been made throughout the history of English; without doubt it is particularly true of the sixteenth century, from beginning to end, so that a Purist in 1580 would have accepted many "new" words that a Purist in 1535 would have rejected. Later generations are thankful that such is the case. The Purists exercised a valuable check, but if their pruning and guarding hand had been more powerful, the English lan-

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<sup>42</sup> Elementarie, ed. by E. I. Campagnac, 1925, Chapxxii.





guage would not have reached the stage of growth and full leafage that we find it in today.

The evidences of the Purist-Improvist controversy are not limited to prefaces to original and translated works, nor is the matter of diction the only linguistic concern of the century. That phase of learning called Rhetoric gained a tremendous importance in these years, including then, as it had not done before, a strong emphasis on the study of English Grammar.<sup>43</sup> In the Middle Ages Logic had been uppermost, but with the reading of "authors" in the Renaissance, Rhetoric took the highest place in the curriculum. In literature, as in education, the reading of the ancients awakened a new delight in the melody of language. School and university training accounts for a large part of the wealth of imagery and expression in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Latin writers furnished most of the rules and models.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, the fancy

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43 "Grammar" had until this time meant only Latin Grammar.

To name all the rhetorics and grammars written during the century is impossible and useless. A selected group of them follow: Leonard Cox, The Arte or Crafte of Rhetorique, ca.1530, the first chronologically; Thomas Wilson, The Arte of Rhetorique, 1553, the first of importance; Richard Sherry, Treatise on Schemes and Tropes, 1550; Thomas Smith, De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione, 1568; Ascham, Scholemaster, 1570; Gascoigne, Notes of Instruction in English, 1575; Henry Peacham, Garden of Eloquence, 1577; Wm. Bullokar, Book at Large, for the Amending of Orthographie for English Speech, 1580, and Bref Grammar for English, 1586; George Pettie, Ciuile Conversations, 1581; Richard Mulcaster, Elementarie, 1582; Dud-



of the court-- which fostered sixteenth-century letters-- was most captivated by the showy, often tawdry, features of composition. Some writers, like Gabriel Harvey, wished to combine the zeal for philosophy or knowledge and for eloquence in a style which they called "bravery". For many, however, the rhetorical ideal was eloquence; lack of artifice was called vulgar. Naturally excess in rhetoric, like strange diction, provoked early objection. As Tyndale had opposed the rhetoric of Fisher and More, and Bishop Jewel (Oratio contra rhetoricam, 1557) had declared "the study of rhetoric to be useless, profitless, vain,"<sup>45</sup> so the later writers included this enemy among the "forenisms". Camden (Britannia, 1586), disclaims any "intention to pick flowers in the gardens of eloquence."<sup>46</sup>

The aims of this survey include one item which is second in importance only to the growth of the language-- that is, the birth of an interest in language itself as a universal phenomenon, or, as it would be put in modern times, the growth of a scientific attitude in linguistic matters. Elyot seemed to reflect very little on this point;

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(43 continued) Iey Fenner, Artes of Logike and Rethorike, 1584; Wm. Webbe, Discourse of English Poetrie, 1586; Abraham Fraunce, Arcadian Rhetoric, 1588; George Puttenham, Arte of English Poesie, 1589.

44 The classics had little influence on English Grammar. In that field Englishmen had to be pioneers. Sixteenth-century grammars are but rudimentary in comparison with the rhetorics.

45 G. P. Krapp, Rise of Modern English Prose, 1915, p. 301.

46 Ibid., p. 448.



he accepted language as a natural institution, apparently had no notion of the grouping of language into families, and thought of speech entirely as a means, an instrument. In that capacity it needed attention, and he gave it attention diligently. On the other hand, with the origin, history, and essential nature of speech he was little concerned. Even his Dictionarie was to be used chiefly as an aid in reading "authors". To be sure, he knew a great deal about etymology, not merely intuitively but technically, for within the limits of sixteenth century borrowing he obeyed the rules-- possibly one should say rather that he helped to lay the rules-- that Mulcaster was to begin to codify within a half century. This knowledge of etymology continued through the years; though there have until the last century been many ridiculous errors in the matter, etymology has always been a principal feature of linguistic study.

Men were beginning at Elyot's time to devote observation and criticism to the very character of language. There is that comparative appraisal of Greek and Latin, which, occurring in More and Elyot,<sup>47</sup> is voiced frequently after them. They found that English rendered Greek very well, much better than did the Latin. Ascham lamented that "if Varros bookes had remained to posteritie, as by Gods prouidence, the most part of Tullies did, than trewlie the Latin tong might haue made good comparison with the Greke."<sup>48</sup> Sidney

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<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 113.

<sup>48</sup> Scholemaster, ed. by Edw. Arber, 1895, p. 154.



agreed: "...for the vttering sweetly, and properly the conceits of the minde, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world: and is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latin."<sup>49</sup> Slowly interest was going deeper into the heart of the matter. Ascham hints at the character of speech when he says that it is "gotten onelie by Imitation,"<sup>50</sup> not quite satisfied with Elyot's conclusion that it is a "natural" phenomenon, and aiming toward Puttenham's idea that "speech it selfe is artificial and made by man."<sup>51</sup> Puttenham does not stop with that slight remark; he enlarges upon the idea later:

"Speech is not naturall to man sauving for his onely habilitie to speake, and that he is by kinde apt to vtter all his conceits with sounds and voyces diuersified many maner of wayes, by meanes of the many and fit instruments he hath by nature to that purpose, as a broad and vobuble tong, thinne and mouable lippes, teeth euen and not shagged, thicke ranged, a round vaulted pallate, and a long throte, besides an excellent capacity of wit that maketh him more disciplinable and imitatie then any other creature: then as to the forme and action of his speech, it commeth to him by arte and teaching, and by vse or exercise. But after a speech is fully fashioned to the common vnderstanding, and accepted by consent of a whole countrey and nation, it is called a language, and receaueth none allowed alteration, but by extraordinary occasions by little and little, as it were insensibly bringing in of many corruptions that creepe along with the time." (Arte of English Poesie, p. 156)

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<sup>49</sup> Apologie, ed. by Edw. Arber, 1901, p. 70. Cf. also Sidney's observation on and appreciation of English on p. 246 below.

<sup>50</sup> Scholemaster, pp. 116-7.

<sup>51</sup> Puttenham, op.cit., p. 24.





The most important philological work during our period was the Elementarie of Richard Mulcaster, an author and book that merit our lengthy consideration. Although his appeal for the study of the mother tongue-- that is, his own idea-- was not taken up until 1867, when the City of London School added the study of the English language to its curriculum, he is by no means a neglected writer now. The importance attached to Mulcaster by recent scholars is attested not only by the essay on that author by E. T. Campagnac (edition of the Elementarie, Clarendon Press, 1925), but also by the very appearance of such an edition.

Richard Mulcaster was born ca. 1531 and lived until 1611. He went to Cambridge (King's College) in 1548 and for some unknown reason changed to Christ Church at Oxford in 1555. He was Head Master of the Merchant Taylor's School from 1561 to 1586, held several ecclesiastical appointments between 1586 and 1598, and was High Master of St. Paul's School from 1596 to 1608. As a writer, he himself recognized the flaws of his style;<sup>52</sup> nevertheless the contents of his two books, Positions (1581-- dealing with the matter and conditions of teaching and learning) and the Elementarie (1582-- handling the "right writing of our English tung") place them

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<sup>52</sup> These flaws are not to be over-emphasized. Such a sentence as, "I say no more, where it is too much to say euen so much in a sore of so much" (quoted by Benndorf, op. cit., p. 81), is the exception in his writing.



high among Renaissance scholarly works. Mulcaster was primarily a teacher, systematic and wise. Of him one critic writes, "Elyot, der kluge Philosoph, Ascham, der feine Gelehrte, mögen Mulcaster in vieler Hinsicht über-  
ragen; auf pädagogischen Gebiete aber steht er fraglos am höchsten.... Sein [Mulcaster's] Zeitalter war noch nicht reif für ihn."<sup>53</sup> Among other remarkable characteristics of him is the desire to break the old convention of incessantly citing so-called authorities. At one of the several places in the Elementarie where he voices his opposition to the custom, he writes,

"I shall not nede in this so petie a principle to proue by particulars, neither to raise vp again a sort of horieheded writers, both grammarians and greater in the verie best speches, from out of their graues to subscribe to my rules. It is enough for me that the learned find this trew in their own trauell, and that the vnlearned be content to beleue the learned, that I vtter a truth, tho I bring not in a Priscian, or anie Priscian-like ortografer or anie of the twelue old grammarians likned to the nine muses and the thre graces in the Latin tung."  
(Elementarie, p. 180)

Mulcaster wanted pupils to understand best the speech they learned as children with their parents. Elyot advocated speaking of Latin as the first step in learning the language, and Ascham had tried hard to make a student's Latin something more than a mere literal translation of his English. Mulcaster voices despair of ever reaching

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<sup>53</sup> Benndorf, op.cit., p. 72.



that goal and contends in protest against it that "our first impression is alwaie in English, before we do deliver it in Latin."<sup>54</sup>

Mulcaster discusses frequently the origin and nature of language. Though his reasoning is unfortunately deductive, and though he insists on dismissing the former as unsolvable and inconsequential, his observations on the latter are really ahead of his time. It would be beginning "to high in seking out the ground of right writing," he says, to find out who first invented letters, "a thing as vncertain to be known, as fruteles it if were known." "For what certaintie can there be had of so old a thing? or what profit can rise by som one mans name, if one were the founder, as it cannot be." So we are only to thank the inventor and judge that very necessity produced the invention. "For the tung conueying speche no further thē to those, which were within hearing, and the necessitie of conueiance oftymes falling out betwene some persons that were further of: a deuice was made to serue the eie afar of, by the mean of letters, as natur did satisfie the ear at hand by benefit of speche." Moreover, the acceptance of this written language was by contract: "Wherby the peple that vsed them first, agreed with those, that found them first, that such a sound in the voice should

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54 Elementarie, p. 175 .



be resembled by such a signe to the eie: and that such a signe in the eie should be so returned to the ear, as the aspectable figur of such an audible sound: whereunto theie subscribed their names, set to their seals the daie and year, when their consent past."<sup>55</sup> So much for the origin of letters. As to the beginning of speech itself, he goes one step beyond Puttenham, who held that "Speech is not naturall to man sauving for his onely habilitie to speake," meaning, it seems, that only the instruments for speaking were given to man. Mulcaster considers the original man to have had both the ability and the will to speak, for he says that "words be voluntarie"; and interestingly enough he was familiar with Plato's Cratylus in this connection.

"We nede not to proue by Platoes Cratylus, or Aristotles proposition as by best authorities, (tho men be sufficiēt to proue their own inuentions) that **words** be voluntarie, and appointed vpon cause, seing we haue better warrant. For euen God himself, who brought the creatures, which he had made, vnto ~~that~~ first man, whom he had also made, that he might name them, according to their properties, doth planelie declare by his so doing, what a cunning thing it is to giue right names, and how necessarie it is, to know their forces..." (Elem. p.188)

The significance of these passages is that in them an Englishman is handling very deep and difficult problems concerning the language he spoke, problems that are not yet

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55 See the Elementarie, Chap. xii. (pas).





solved. He made mistakes, it is true, but they were no more serious mistakes than have been made closer to our own day.

Mulcaster was interested in the rise and fall of languages,<sup>56</sup> and at one place wrote to the extent of three pages on the stages which all languages go through,<sup>57</sup> concluding that English was at its "verie height". He observed that sound was originally the sole guide for writing, but that it must be supplemented by reason and custom. In sum, his expressions on English orthography and grammar are still of worth. He had, when linguistic knowledge was rudimentary, a correct view of the essential elements in speech, of the origin and fall of languages. Also he stated with keen logic the relation between word and thought; he was one of the first "der, wenigstens in Prinzip, die Notwendigkeit erkannte, den Ausdruck von der despotischen Herrschaft des Wortes zu Befreien."<sup>58</sup>

It has already been said that this type of closer and more philosophical observation was being applied to the English language in particular. With regard to poetic quality, Ascham remarked conservatively that "although Carmen Exam-

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<sup>56</sup> See pp. 69-70 on the refinement of "secondary [later]" speeches in the manner used by the improvers of the "primary, primitive, original" speech.

<sup>57</sup> All languages have begun as very crude instruments of speech, were refined to the extent of being in high esteem, then became degraded again. See especially the Elem., pp. 177-8-9.

<sup>58</sup> Benndorf, op. cit., p. 84.



etrum doth rather trotte and hobble, than runne smothly in our English tong, yet I am sure, our English tong will receiue Carmen Iambicum as naturallie, as either Greke or Latin."<sup>59</sup> Sidney divided versifying into two sorts, the ancient, which is "more fit for Musick, both words and tune obseruing quantity, and more fit liuely to expresse diuers passions, by the low and lofty sounde of the well-weyed sil-able;" and the modern, which "with hys Ryme, striketh a certaine musick to the eare: and in fine, sith it dooth delight, though by another way, it obtaines the same purpose: there beeing in eyther sweetnes, and wanting in neither maiestie." Then he proceeds,

"Truely the English, before any other vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts: for, for the Ancient, the Italian is so full of Vowels, that it must euer be cumbred with Elisions. The Dutch, so of the other side with Consonants, that they cannot yeeld the svveet slyding, fit for a Verse. The French, in his whole language, hath not one word, that hath his accent in the last sil-able, sauing two, called Ante-penultima, and little more hath the Spanish: and therefore, very gracelessly may they vse Dactiles. The English is subject to none of these defects." (Apologie, pp. 70-1)

Frequently there was some comment on the monosyllabic character of the Saxon speech and the bi- or trisyllabic nature of Norman English,<sup>60</sup> accompanied sometime by the erroneous notion that Latin and Greek "fell out originally to be fashioned with words of many sillables for the most part."<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Scholemaster, p. 146.

<sup>60</sup> See Puttenham, Arte, pp. 82, 92-3, for example.



The mistakes of these scholars were due to a lack of the practice and the means of a scientific approach. They are at least to be commended for their efforts to solve the difficult problems of the origin and the nature of language, and of the history of our own speech.<sup>62</sup> Their ears and eyes, certainly, were alert, and they learned all they could learn of language from the various tongues as they knew them.

What contribution did Elyot make to these developments of the fifty years after him? We cannot be certain. Croft, in his edition of the Gouverneur, has pointed out a large number of parallels between passages in that work and some in books of later publication. He has found similar treatment in Ascham, Wilson, Sidney, Puttenham, Peacham, Mulcaster, and Montaigne of ideas on the conditions and methods of education, the authors to be read, kinds of exercise to be taken, vices and virtues of human beings, and various other matters set forth in the Gouverneur. In Northbrooke's Treatise

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61 Ibid., p. 91.

62 Puttenham, for example, gives us a brief history of the language at pages 156 and 157 of his Arte. The language which he spoke and wrote he called Norman English. Before the Norman Conquest it had been "Anglesaxon", and before that the British, which some folks thought was represented in his day by the Welsh, others, the Cornish. He could not see how it could be either, as they were then spoken and pronounced. Continuing, he arrived at the pronouncement that his countrymen should not take the language of Chaucer and Chaucer's contemporaries as the accepted English of the sixteenth century; nor that of the "Northern-men", though Puttenham considered it the purest "English Saxon"; nor that of the "Westerne man". Only the language of London, the court, was to be taken as best English.



Against Idlenesse, Dice-Playing, etc. (1577), the vices mentioned in those titles are decried in the Elyot manner. Hume states, as Elyot had, that ingratitude is the most horrible crime of human creatures.<sup>63</sup> In 1562 Eduard Lewicke published The Most Wonderful and Pleasaunt History of Titus and Gisippus..., which J. P. Collier<sup>64</sup> has shown was indebted to Elyot<sup>65</sup> not only for form but also for words and phrases. Croft also points out that Elyot's story of Luctatius<sup>66</sup> is transferred bodily to Peacham's Compleat Gentleman (1622). One notes immediately that those alleged parallelisms are literary and more or less universal; ideas of that sort were in the air in the sixteenth century. If one finds instances of verbal similarity in stories translated from Latin and Greek, or in other passages that were likely to differ in expression with different writers, he may be safe in assuming that the later writer used Elyot. If such a condition does not exist, the dangerous business of finding parallelisms is perilous to the extent of absurdity.

Croft lists five books which he considers directly indebted to the Gouernour:

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<sup>63</sup> Elyot, G II.xiii.186; Hume, Phil. Works, ed. 1854, II, p. 228.

<sup>64</sup> Poet. Decameron, 1820, II, pp.84-5.

<sup>65</sup> G II.xii.

<sup>66</sup> G I.xvii.77.





Budaeus, De l'Institution du Prince, 1547, dedicated to Francis I. Though it may be going too far to say that this work was inspired by the Gouverneur, the resemblances are too close to be accidental.

John Sturm, De educandis erudiendisue Principum liberis, 1570, dedicated to William, brother of Anne of Cleves. Sturm probably knew the Gouverneur and possibly its author. The treatment of education is similar to Elyot's.

Anon., The Institucion of a Gentleman, 1555, dedicated to Lorde Fitzwater, son and heir of the Earl of Sussex.

Lodovick Bryskett, A Discourse of Ciuill Life,...1606.

Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman, 1622.

(Ascham's Scholemaster, 1570, and Locke's Thoughts Concerning Education, 1693, still further develop Elyot's idea.)

Elyot's name is seldom mentioned during his century in any other than a historical manner. Historians mention him as an outstanding scholar, but never go to any great length in discussion of him. In the "To the Gentlemen-Students", prefixed to R. Greene's Menaphon (1589), Thomas Nashe speaks of Elyot in a recital of the illustrious names connected with St. John's College at Cambridge: "But amongst others in that age, Sir Thomas Eliots eloquence did seuer it selfe from all equalls, ..." At pages 90, 99, and 101 of the Treatise Against Dice-Playing, Northbrooke acknowledges Elyot as the author of the ideas he is handling. At pages 42-44 of his Discourse, William Webbe names Elyot as the translator of the verses from Horace, Plautus,



Terence, and Martial, which he uses, and proceeds also to adapt Elyot's commentary on them. After quoting in footnote Elyot's story about finding a giant fourteen feet ten inches high at Ivy Church near Salisbury, John Leland adds, "Ideo autem ista inserere placuit, quoniam auctor magni erat nominis ab eruditionem, prudentiam, & experientiam, nec Bibliotheca ejus impressiones primae ubiuis occurrunt."<sup>67</sup> In the Preface to his Alvearie (1573), Baret testified that "knowing then of no other Dictionarie to helpe vs, but Sir Thomas Eliots Librarie, which was come out a little before," he assigned several pages of that book each day for his pupils at Cambridge to study.<sup>68</sup> Harvey mentions him as one of the masters of style. Croft, (Gouverneur, Introduction) goes so far as to name the Gouverneur as the most popular book in English during the sixteenth century, not even excepting the Utopia (this should be limited by the phrase "before Hoby's Courtier," for the latter book certainly superseded the Gouverneur in popularity).

There is no pretence at completeness in these lists.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Itinerary, ed. 1774, Vol. III, p.141.

<sup>68</sup> See J. A. H. Murray, Evolution of English Lexicography, 1900, p.22.

<sup>69</sup> For further study of Elyot's influence, see Stenberg, "Sir Thomas Elyot's Defense of the Poets," Univ. of Tex. Stud. in Engl., No. 6, pp. 121-45. This article has the largest amount of material on the subject that has been collected in any one place besides Croft's edition of the Gouverneur. The work of Stenberg has been done, however, under the guidance of Professor D. T. Starnes, for whose articles see the bibliography, p. 409 .



They are given only to show the manner in which and the purpose for which Elyot's name seems to have been recorded in the writings of his immediate successors. Their references to him were chiefly literary and historical; they did not think of him as we are now studying him-- from a linguistic point of view.

The paucity of these references is puzzling, though not in any sense detracting from the kind of importance we are now assigning to him. At least, nothing was said to his individual discredit, and it is hardly fair to suppose that his efforts were too inconsequential to be regarded. As a matter of fact, his books enjoyed numerous reprintings before 1600, even though they have been neglected since then and are represented in modern editions by only four items.<sup>70</sup> His countrymen have claimed him for their universities (both of them.). They read his books, as the frequent editions of them and the frequent apparent borrowings from them indicate.

Again it must be made clear that there is no effort to place Elyot among the greatest writers in English, but only to give him his due. That he was a man of influential

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<sup>70</sup> The Gouverneur, several editions; Of the Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man, Palaestra, Vol. 83; Defence of Good Women, in Watson's Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women, 1912; and the Rules of a Christian Lyfe, from the Latin of Pico della Mirandola. The last is in Wilfrid Raynal's Imitation of Christ (London, 1872), where it is erroneously ascribed to Sir Thomas More.



social and cultural standing cannot be doubted; that he devoted himself, thought, time, standing, and all, to the cause of English scholarship is equally true. He was not so much littérateur as scholar, and by the fateful hands of history his scholarship was forced largely into matters of language. Let us hasten to add that he needed not to be coerced. Though he cannot have hoped to gain much from the labors he chose to do, he undertook them willingly and in a spirit of modesty. We learn that some great poets-- Spenser, for example-- were very diffident and modest about their work, publishing only after the urgent requests of their friends, and we now thank those boosters for their part in enriching our literature. Elyot, though not so diffident possibly as Spenser, yet needed the encouragement of Henry VIII and other men in political and literary circles. At various times his enthusiasm lagged, only to be fired anew to complete tremendous tasks and again to pledge his time and thought to the profit of his countrymen. To him we are indebted for the magnificent treatise on the education of a ruler, the first significant venture in English into moral philosophy; from him we receive eight complete translations from the Latin and Greek, besides the incalculable amount of classic lore interspersed in his other pieces; from his studies issued a dictionary, a venture into untrodden territory, the best thing of its kind available in the six-





teenth century (even as late as 1582 Mulcaster recommended the need of a good dictionary of English); to him we owe three hundred and fifty new words and meanings, eighty per cent of which remain in the language today, and the development of a clearer, more dignified, and more effective prose sentence. To this catalogue must be added the examples which he set for his followers, who placed him among the worthy scholars of their land. Men knew him; they profited from his labor. He lived and worked diligently at a crucial moment, and the recently increasing amount of space given to him in the scholarly studies of that moment indicate substantially that he will always be given a high place among those who prepared the way for the English literature that was to follow him.

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## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A

### Bibliography and Text

The material assembled below might well be separated into two parts, but for mechanical convenience it is given all together. The captions furnish sufficient explanation of the bibliographical matter. The sections headed "Extracts" include all of Elyot's prefaces and a few excerpts from the bodies of his various works. These are included for the purpose of reference, since all of the sentences used in Chapter V (under "Syntax") and most of the allusions throughout the other chapters are in these passages, and since only four of Elyot's works are generally available. The items in Elyot's bibliography are here arranged chronologically as in Chapter I, pp. 10-12. All quotations below are from the earliest editions of Elyot's works in the British Museum, unless otherwise indicated.

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#### THE BOKE NAMED THE GOUVERNOUR

(1531)

##### Title-page

"The Boke / named the Gouvernour, / deuised by Tho- / mas Elyot / knight." / Londini in edibus Tho. / Bertheleti. An. dni / M.D. xxxi."

##### Colophon

"Thomas Berthelet regius im- / pressor excudebat. Cum / priuilegio."

##### Subject

The education of a ruler, and moral philosophy. Length: vi and 257 $\frac{1}{2}$  leaves, or 525 pages.

##### Extracts

###### The Proheme

"I late consideringe (moste excellent prince and myne



onely redoughted soueraigne lorde) my duetie that I owe to my naturall contray with my faythe also of aliegeaunce and othe, wherewith I am double bounden unto your maies- tie, more ouer thaccompt that I haue to rendre for that one litle talent deliuered to me to employe (as I suppose) to the increase of vertue, I am (as god iuge me ) violent- ly stered to deuulgate or sette fourth some part of my studie, trustynge therby tacquite me of my dueties to god, your hyghnesse, and this my contray. Wherefore takinge comfort and boldenesse, partly of your graces moste bene- uolent inclination towarde the uniuersall weale of your subiectes, partly inflamed with zeale, I haue nowe enter- prised to describe in our vulgare tunge the fourme of a iuste publike weale: whiche mater I haue gathered as well of the sayenges of moste noble autours (grekes and latynes) as by myne owne experience, I beinge continually trayned in some dayly affaires of the publike weale of this your moste noble realme all moste from my chylldhode. Whiche attemptate is nat of presumption to teache any persone, I my selfe hauinge moste nede of teachinge: but onely to the intent that men which wil be studious about the weale publike may fynde the thinge therto expedient compendious- ly written. And for as moch as this present boke treateth of the education of them that hereafter may be demed wor- thy to be gouernours of the publike weale under your hygh- nesse (whiche Plato affirmeth to be the firste and chiefe parte of a publyke weale; Salomon sayenge also where gouer- nours be nat the people shall falle in to ruyne), I ther- fore haue named it The Gouernour, and do nowe dedicate it unto your hyghnesse as the fyrste frutes of my studye, verely trustynge that your moste excellent wysedome wyll therein esteme my loyall harte and diligent endeouour by the example of Artaxerxes, the noble kynge of Persia, who reiected nat the pore husbandman whiche offred to hym his homely handes full of clene water, but mooste graciously receyued it with thanks, estemyng the present nat after the value but rather to the wyll of the gyuer. Semblably kynge Alexander retayned with hym the poete Cherilus hon- orably for writing his historie, all though that the poete was but of a small estimation. Whiche that prynce dyd not for lacke of iugement, he beyng of excellent lernynge as disciple to Aristotell, but to thentent that his liberalite employed on Cherilus shulde animate or gyue courage to others moche better lerned to contende with hym in a sem- blable enterpryse.

"And if, moste vertuous prince, I may perceyue your hyghnes to be herewith pleased, I shall sone after (god giuing me quietenes) present your grace with the residue of my studie and labours, wherein your hyghnes shal well perceiue that I nothing esteme so moche in this worlde as youre royall astste, (my most dere soueraigne lorde), and





the publike weale of my contray. Protestinge unto your excellent maiestie that where I commende herin any one vertue or dispraise any one vice I meane the generall description of thone and thother without any other particular meanyng to the reproche of any one persone. To the whiche protestation I am nowe dryuen throughe the malignite of this present tyme all disposed to malicious detraction. Wherefore I mooste humbly beseche your hyghnes to dayne to be patrone and defendour of this little warke agayne the assaultes of maligne interpretours whiche fayle nat to rente and deface the renoume of wryters, they them selves beinge in nothings to the publike weale profitable. Whiche is by no man sooner perceyued than by your highnes, beinge bothe in wysedome and very nobilitie equall to the most excellent princes, whome, I beseche god, ye may surmount in longe life and perfect felicitie. Amen."

#### Later Editions

1537; 1544; 1546; 1553; 1557; 1565; 1580; 1834 (A.T.Eliot, ed.); 1880 (H.H.S.Croft, ed.); 1907 (F.Watson, ed., Everyman's Library).

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#### OF THE KNOWLEDGE WHICHE MAKETH A WISE MAN

(1533)

#### Title-page

"Of the / Knowledge / whiche maketh a wise / man./ Londini in aedibus / Thomae Bertheleit./ M.D.XXXIII./ Cum privilegio."

Colophon (None)

#### Subject

A "Platonic Disputation" between Plato and Aristippus, in five dialogues. Length: 108 leaves, or 216 pages, in the body, with a proeme of 7 leaves, or 14 pages.

#### Extracts

##### The Proheme

"God, unto whome all mens hertis be opened, and the



wyll of manne speakethe, is my wytnes, that to the desire of knowlege, wherunto I have hitherto ben ever of my nature disposed, I have ioyned a constant intent to profyte thereby my natyrall countrey: Wherunto accordyng to the sentence of Tully, we be most specially bounden. Wherefore after that I had applyed the more parte of my lyfe in perusynge diligently every auncient werke, that I mought come by, eyther greke or latine, conteynyng any parte of philosophie necessary to the institucion of mans lyfe in vertue, I have endeavored my selfe to set forth suche parte of my studie as I thought mought be profitable to them, whiche shulde happen to rede or here it. But divers men rather scornynge my benefite than receyving it thankfully, doe shewe them selves offended (as they say) with my strange termes. Other finding in my bookis the thing dispreysed, which they do commende in usynge it. Lyke a galde horse abidyng no plaisters be alwaye gnappyng and kyckynge at suche examples and sentences as they do feeble sharpe or do byte them, accomptyng to be in me no lyttell presumption, that I wyll in notynge other mens vices correct Magnificat, sens other moche wyser men and better lerned than I, doe forbear to wryte any thyng. And whiche is warse than all this: Some wyll maliciously divine or coniecte, that I wryte to the intent to rebuke some perticular persone, covaytynge to bryng my warkes and afterward me into the indignacion of some man in auctorytie.

"Thus unthankfully is my benefyte receyved my good wyll consumed, and all my labours devoured. Such is of some menne the nature serpentine, that lappyng sweete mylke they converte hit forth with in to poyson, to distroye him, of whose liberalitie they late had receyved it. How incomparably be these men unlyke to the most excellent prince, our most dere soveraygne lorde? whose most royall persone I hartily beseche god to preserve in longe life and honour. His highnesse benignely receyvynge my boke, whiche I named Governour, in the redyng therof sone perceyved, that I intended to augment our Englyshe tongue, wherby men shoulde as well expresse more abundantly the thyng that they conceived in theyre hertis (wherefore language was ordeyned) havynge wordes apte for the purpose: as also interprete out of greke, latyn, or any other tonge into Englysshe, as sufficiently, as out of any one of the said tongues into an other. His grace also perceyved, that through out the boke there was no terme newe made by me of a latine or frenche worde, but it is there declared so playnly by one men or other to a diligent reder that no sentence is therby made derke or harde to be understande. Ne the sharpe and quycke sentences, or the rounde and playne examples set out in the versis of Claudiane the poete in the seconde boke, or in the chapters of Affabilitie, Benevolence, Beneficence, and of the diversitie of flaterers, and in dyvers



other places, in any parte offended his hyghnes: but (as it was by credible persones reported unto me) his grace not onely toke hit in the better parte, but also with princely wordes ful of maiestie, commended my diligence, simplicitie, and corage in that I spared none astate in the rebukynge of vice: which wordes ful of very nobilite brought unto my remembraunce the vertuous Emperour Antonine, called for his wysdom Antonine the philosopher, who on a tyme herynge, that there was in the Citee of Rome a playne and rude persone, whiche alwaye spake in the rebuke of all men, and never praised any man: he sent to hym, requirynge that he wolde come and speke with hym. And whan he was come, the Emperour had these woordes unto hym. My frende wherin have I ever offended the? The fellow therwith soore abasshed answered in this wise. Sir your hyghnes never offended me, that I am ware of. Than art thou (sayd the Emperour) an uncourtoyse subiecte, that thou hast so longe dissembled with me, not tellyng unto me my faultes.

" And after the Emperour reteyned hym styll, gyvynge unto hym dowble wages, commaundynge hym to use his olde libertie. And whan dyvers men mervayled therat, he affirmed openly, that princis vices were aooner espied by other men than by them selves: and that there was moche more difficultie in remembring them of their vice or lack, than in extollyng and commendynge their vertues. So well dyd this mooste noble Emperour consider, that his exaample mought be more profitable unto the publyke weale of the citie, than any other thyng in his persone or dignitie.

" In lyke wise our moste dere soveraygne lorde perfectly knew, that no writar ought to be blamed, whiche wryteth neyther for hope of temporall rewarde, nor for any private disdayne or malyce, but onely of fervent zeles towardes good occupation and vertue. Perdie man is not so yet conformed in grace, that he can not do syn. And I suppose no prince thynkethe hymselfe to be exempte from mortalitie. And for as moche as he shall have mo occasions to fall, he ought to have the moo frendes, or the more instruction to warne hym. And as for my parte I eftsones do protest, that in no booke of my makynge I have intended to touche more one manne than an nother. For there be Gnathos in Spayne as well as in Grece, Pasquilles in Englande as well as in Rome, Dionises in Germanye as well as in Sicile, Harpocrates in France as well as in Aegypt, Aristippus in Scotlande as well as in Cyrena, Platos be fewe, and them I doubte where to fynde. And if men wyll seke for them in Englande, whiche I sette in other places, I can nat lette them. I knowe well ynowghe, dyvers do delyte to have theyr garmentes of the facion of other countreyes, and that whiche is moost playne, is un-



pleasant: but yet it doth happen sometyme, that one man beyng in auctorytie, or favour of his prince, beinge sene to weare somme thyng of the olde facion: for the strangenes therof it is taken up ageine with many fold felowes. What I doo meane, every wyse man perceyveth. Touchynge the title of my boke, I considered, that wisdom is spoke of, moch more than used. For wher in it resteth fewe menne be sure. The commune opinion is into thre partis devided. One sayeth it is in moche lernynge and knowledge. An other affirmeth, that they, whiche do conducte the affayres of greatte princis or countrayes, bee onely wyse men. Nay saythe the thyrde, he is wysest, that leste dothe meddle, and can sytte quietly at home, and tourne a crabbe, and looke onely unto his owne busynesse. Nowe they, whiche be of the fyrste oppinion, be alwaye at variance. For somme doo chiefly extoll the Study of holy scripture (as it is rayson) but while they do wrest it to agree with theyr wylles, ambition, or vayne glory, of the mooste noble and devoute lernynge, they doo endeavor them to make hit servile and full of contention. Some do preferre the studie of the lawes of this realme, callynge it the onely studye of the publyke weale. But a great noubre of persones, whiche have consumed in sute more than the value of that, that they sued for, in theyr angre do cal it a commune detriment. All thoughe undoubtedly the very selfe lawe trewely practised, passeth the lawes of all other countrayes. In thynkynge on these sondrye opynyons, I happened for my recreacyon to reede in the booke of Laertius the lyfe of Plato, and beholdynge the aunswere that he made to kynge Dionyse at the fyrste syghte it semed to me to be very dissolute and lackyng the modestie, that belonged to a philosopher: but whan I had better examined it, therein appered that, whiche is best worthy to be called wysedome. Wherefore to exercyse my wytte and to avoyde Idelnes, I toke my penne and as-sayde, Howe in expressyng my conceyte, I mought profyte to them, whiche without disdayne or envye wolde often tymes reade it. If any man wyll thinke the boke to be verye longe, let hym consyder, that knowlege of wysedome can not be shortly declared. All be hit of them, whiche be well wylling, it is soone lerned: In good faythe sooner thanne Primero or Greeke: Suche is the straunge propertie of that excellent cunnyng, that it is sooner lerned, than taught, and better by a mannes rayson than by an instructor. Finally if the reders of my warkis, by the noble example of our mooste dere soveraygne lorde, do iustly and lovyngely interprete my labours, I duryng the residue of my lyfe, wyll nowe and than sette forthe suche frutes of my studye, profitable (as I trust) unto this my countray. And levyng malycious reders with their incurable fury, I wyll saie





unto god the wordes of the Catholike Churche in the booke  
of Sapience: To knowe the good lorde is perfecte Justice,  
And to knowe thy Justyce and vertue is the very roote of  
Immortalitie: And therin is the knowlege, that is very  
wysedome." \*

### Later Editions

1534; 1920 (reprinted from the edition of 1533 by Kurt  
Schroeder in a study entitled Platonismus in der Englischen  
Renaissance vor und bei Thomas Eliot, nebst Neudruck von  
Eliot's "Disputacion Platonike," 1533; published in Vol.  
LXXXIII of Palaestra).

\* This proheme is taken from Schroeder's  
study of Elyot, in Palaestra, Vol. LXXXIII.

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## PASQUIL THE PLAYNE

(1533)

### Title-page

"Pasquil/the/Playne./ Londini in aedibus/Thomae Bertheleti./  
M.D.XXXIII."

### Colophon

The 1540 edition has the following colophon: "Londini in  
aedibus Thomae Berthe- / leti typis impress. / Cum Priui-  
legio ad imprimen= / dum solum. / Anno. M.D.XL."

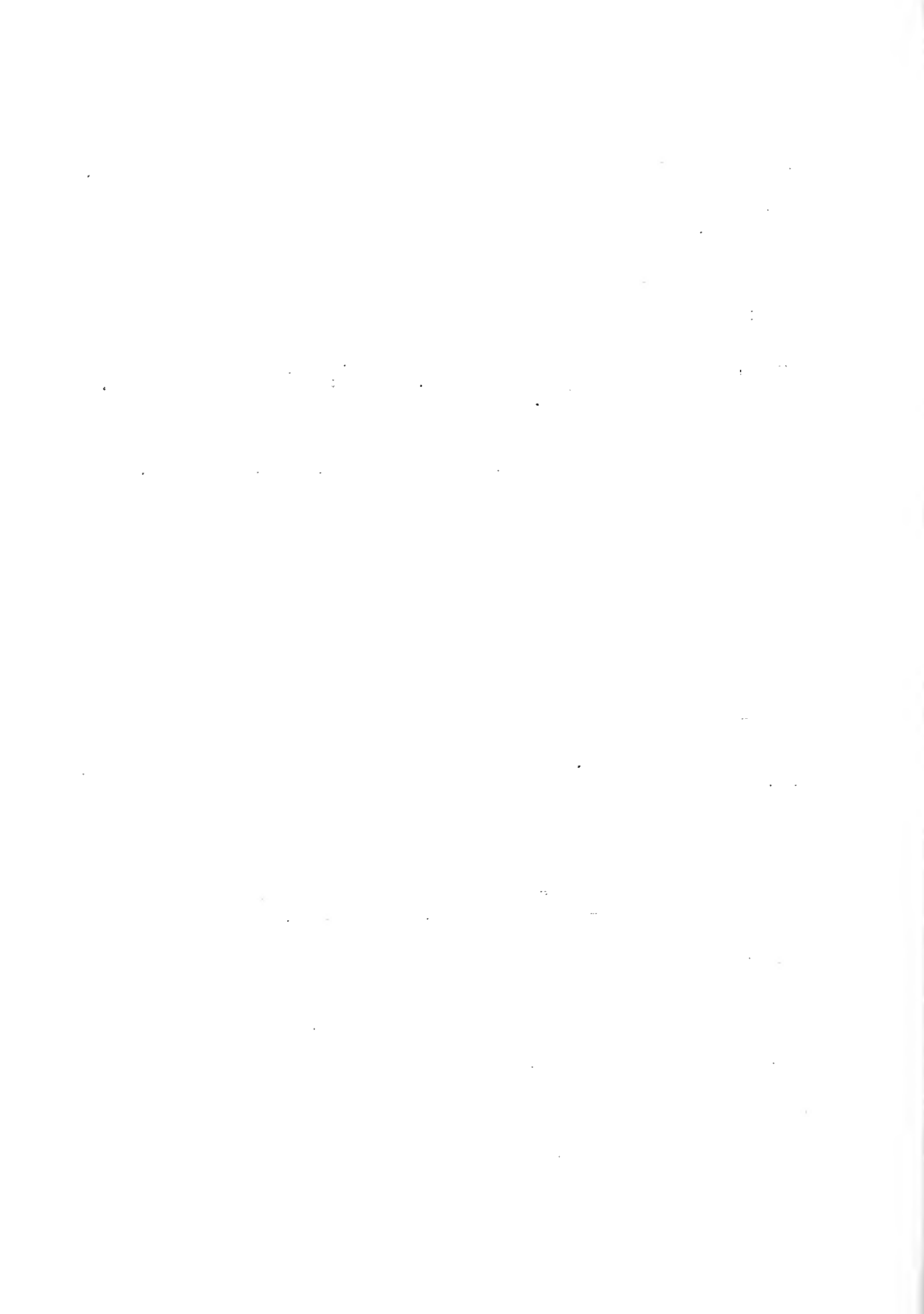
### Subject

- A debate between Harpocrates and Pasquillus, symbols of  
silence and outspokenness, respectively, in which it is  
agreed that one should observe the proper times for speak-  
ing. Length: 39 pages.

### Extracts

"To gentile reders.

Sens plainnes in speking is of wise men cōmended and  
diuerse do abhorre longe prohemes of Rhetorike: I haue sette



out this mery treatise, wherin plainnes and flateri do come in trial in suche wise as none honest man wil be therewith offended. The personages that do reasone be of small reputation: For Pasquillus, that speketh moste, is an image of stone sittinge in the citie of Rome openly: on whome ones in the yere, it is leful to euery man, to set in verse or prose any taute that he wil, agayne whom he list, howe great an estate so euer he be. Not withstandynge in this booke he vsith suche a temperaunce, that he notith not any particular psone or Countrey. Gnatho was brought in by writers of Comedies for suche a seruante as alway affirmed, what so euer was spokē of his maister: but he was a Greke borne and therfore he sauerith some what of rhetorike. Pasquille is an olde Romane but by longe sittinge in the strete, and heringe market men chat he is become rude and homely. Harpocrates was the prelate of the temple of Isis and Serapis, whiche were honorid for goddis in Aegypt whose image is made holdynge his fynger at his mouthe, betokeninge silence. These thre cōmuned to gether, as it foloweth but where, I had forgotten to aske. All be it bycause the matter is merily brought in, and therewith saureth somewhat of wisdom: I thought it not inconueniēt to participate it with you that will not interprete it but acco:dinge to the beste meaninge, And in the redinge this littill treatise distinctly will considre diligently the state and condicion of the parson that speketh with the ordre and conclusion of his hole reason. And if it seme to you that Pasquill sayth true in declaringe howe moche ye do fauoure truthe defende hym agaynste venemous tungen and ouerthwart wittis, whiche doeth more myschiette, than Pasquillus babillinge. Fare ye well."

#### Later Editions

1540.

\* \* \* \*

#### THE CASTEL OF HELTH

(1534)

#### Title-page

"The Ca= / stel of Helth / Gathered and made by Syr Tho= / mas Elyot knyghte of Phy= / syke, wherby the state of his / owne body, the preserua= / tiō of helth, and how / to in-



structe welle / his physytion / in sycke= / nes / that he  
be not / decyued." The date is set in the border at the  
bottom.

### Colophon

"Londini in aedibus Thomae Ber- / theleti typis impress./  
Cum priuilegio ad imprimen- / dum solum / Anno M.D. XXX.IX."

### Subject

Medical lore, garnered chiefly from classical authors on  
the subject. Length: vi and 88 leaves, or 188 pages.

### Extracts

#### Proheme

"He giveth twise that gyueth quyckly (sayth Senek.)  
The grieffe, which I had for your lordshyps disease, with  
the desyre that ye mought lyue longe without syckenes,  
caused suche spede in buyldynge the Castell of helthe, that  
therein lacked som part of perfectiō, but yet the promptnes  
in gyuyng that thyng, whyche I thoughte necessary, to de-  
clare myn affection, I doubt not, was no lasse esteemed of  
your good lordshyp, thā afore is rehersed. Not withstand-  
ynge, whan I had eftesones perused that lyttell fortresse,  
and founde here and there some thyng that lacked, I toke  
my penne in the stede of a truelle, and amended the faultes,  
and added somewhat more, where I thoughte it conuenient: And  
yet perchance some thynges mought happen to escape, which  
were as nedeful to be corrected: myne attendance on the par-  
lyament, I being a member of the lower house, withdrawyng  
from me leysure conueniente, to fynde in this warke all the  
faultes, whiche moughte be amended. Maye it now lyke your  
good lordshyppe to take in good parte, not eftesones the  
castelle, whiche I all redye haue gyuen you, but my good  
wyll and dylygence in amendynge or repayrynge the same,  
whiche is also prynted in a moche better letter, consyder-  
ynge that I no lasse do beholde you cōtynually with myne  
eye of remembrance, than they, whiche at dyner and supper  
do dayly loke on you, the cause I wyll not repete for sus-  
pition of flattery. Frendeshypp (as men aaye) shulde be  
requyted, but yet craue I none other thyng, but onely  
equall beneuolence, and fayth without any suspition: where-  
unto actuall demonstration is so moche requisite, that  
without it they both, seeme to be drowned, sens amonge us  
that be mortall, thynges are moste iudged by outwarde tokens.  
And yet also in them men he sometyme deceyued, Hypocrisy  
hauynge in this worlde soo greate a preemynence: but in ami-  
tie is one rule, which seldom faileth. He that lyueth  
moderately, doth loue alway faithfully: for ouer hym affec-



tions and passions haue lefte authoritie: and he that standeth iuste in the myddell, standeth most surely. Also in the worlde there is no more folly, than to chese frends of them, whiche do folow Fortune. lyke as swyne do folowe the mayden, whiche beareth on her heed a payle ful of mylke. And yf the payle falle, or happen to be emptye, they wyll folowe no lenger. The moderate person, where bothe authoritie and vertue be in his frende equall, because that vertue was the only cause of his loue, that remaynyng, his mynde is in suche wyse therunto ioyned, that although authorytie happen to slyppe, yet that loue and vertue maye neuer be seuered. I haue spoken of frendeshyppe perchaunce more than nedeth, but who wylle not wysse, (yf it moughte happen) to haue suche a treasour, as neyther the mountaynes of Ethiope, nor the ryuers of Inde do conteyne in them, to be therto compared. Tallimachus an auncient poete sayth, Puissance is dredefull: Rychesse is honourable: but loue for suretie is moste incomparable. who perceyueth herein more than your good lordshyppe, whyche besydes the aboundaunte knowledge of hystories and naturall wytte, also concernynge this matter in your owne sondry experiences, I dare saye without flatterye, are equalle to any noble man lyuynge. Yet this my longe tale is not superfluous, whyche is tolde not to teache you, but onely to renewe your lordeshyppes remembrance, whyche is not always present, especially where the brayne is chaked with worldely matters of weyghtye importaunce. In suche as I am, hauynge lyttell and lyttell to doo, remembraunce standeth more at lybertie, and therefore we may more often thynke on that, whyche we haue bothe herde and sene, and in chesyng frendes, be the more circumspecte. But leste I shall make the name of frendshyppe tedyouse, by often rehersalle, I nowe conclude, that I leane this lyttelle warke a monumente of the longe contynewed affection by me borne towarde your lordeshyppe, and a perpetuall wytnesse, that I haue deserved soo moche of youre fauoure, as in mutuall frendshyppe is of rayson requyred; whyche maye be as easylly payed, as it is graunted, yf in place, where it oughte to be shewed, ye do not forgette it. In the meane tyme I shall pray God to adde to your good fortune and helth, contynuaunce with his grace and fauor wherein onely is most perfite suertye."

Proheme (1541 edition)

" Galene the moste excellent Phisicion feared, that in writing a compendious doctrine for the curyng of sicknesse, he shoulde loose all his labour, for as much as no manne almost dydde endeuour hym selfe to the findyng of truth, but that all men dydde so much esteeme riches, possessions, authoritie, and pleasures, that they supposed them, which were studious in any part of Sapience, to be madde or distract of





of their wyttes, for as muche as thei demed the chief sapience, which is in knowlage of thinges belonging as wel to god as to man, to haue no beyng. Sens this noble writer found that lacke in his time, whan there flourished in sundry countreys a great multitude of men excellent in all kindes of lerning, as it yet doth appere by some of theyr workes, why should I be greued with reproches, wherewith some of my countrei do recōpence me, for my labours taken without hope of temporall reward, only for the feruent affection, whiche I haue euer borne toward the publike weale of my countrei? a worthy matter saith one, syr Thomas Elyot is become a phisicion, and writeth in phisicke, whiche besemeth not a knight, he mought haue ben muche better occupied. Truely if they wyll call hym a phisicion, whiche is studyouse about the weale of his countrey, I wyt-saue thei so name me, for duryng my life I wyll in that affection alwaie continue. And why, I pray you, should men haue in disdaine or small reputaciō the science of phisike? which beyng well understand, truely experienced, and discretely ordred, doth conserue helth, without the whiche all pleasures be peynefull, rychesse unprofitable, company annoyance, strength turned to feblenes, beauty to lothsomnes, sences are dispersed, eloquence interrupted, remembraunce confounded, whiche hath ben consydered of wyse men, not onely of the priuate estate, but also of emprors, kinges, and other great princes, who for the uniuersall necessitee and incomparable utilitee, which they perceiued to be in that science of phisicke, thei did not only aduance and honour it with speciall priuiledges, but also dyuers and many of them were therin ryght stuyouse, in so muche as Juba the kynge of Mauritania and Libya, founde out the vertuous qualitees of the herbe called Euforbium. Gentius kynge of Illiria, found the vertues of the Gentian. The herbe Lysimachia, tooke his name of kynge Lysimachus. Mithridates the great kyng of Ponthus, found fyrst the vertues of Scordion and also inuented the famous medycyne againste poyson, called Mythridate. Arthemisia queene of Laria founde the vertues of Motherwoort whiche in latyne beareth hir name, wherby hir noble renoume hath lenger continewed, than by the makying of the famouse monument ouer hir dead husband called Mausoleum, although it were reckned among the wonderfull workes of the worlde, and yet hir name with the saied herbe still abideth, whyles the said monument a thousand yeares passed, was utterly dissolued. It seemeth, that phisicke in this realme, hath been well esteemed, sens the hole studie of Salern, at the request of a kyng of England, wrate and set foorth a compendious and profitable treatise, called the Gouvernance of health, in latine Regimen sanitatis. And I trust in almightie God, that our soueraigne lorde the kynges maiestee, whoo daiely prepareth to stablisse among us true and uncorrupted doctrines, will shortly examine also this part of studie, in suche wyse, as thynges apt for medi-



cine, growyng in this realme, by conference with most noble authors may be so knowen, that we shal haue lesse nede of thynges brought out of farre countreis, by the corrupcion wherof, innumerable people haue perished, without blame to be geuen to the physicions, sauynge onely, that some of them not diligent inough in beholdyng their drugges or ingredience at all tymes dispensed and tried.

"Besydes the saied kynges, whom I haue rehersed, other honorable personages haue written in this excellent doctrine, and not only of the speculatiue part, but also of the practice therof: whose workes do yet remaine unto their glorie immortall, as Abicena, Auensoar, Rasis, Cornelius Celsus, Serenus, and whiche I should haue first named, Machaon, and Podalirius, noble dukes in Grecia, whiche came to the siege of troy, and brought with them xxx great shippes with men of warre. This well considered, I take it for no shame to studie that science, or to set foorth any bokes of the same, beyng thereto prouoked by the moste noble and vertuous exammples of my moste noble maister kyng Henrie the. viii, whose helth I hertily pray god as long to preserue, as god hath constitute mans life to continue, for his highnesse hath not disdeined to be the chiefe author and setter foorth of an Introduction into grammer, for the children of his louyng subiectes, whereby, hauyng good maysters, thei shall most easily and in short time apprehend the understandyng and forme of speakyng of true and eloquent latine. O roiall hert, full of very nobilitee. O noble breast, setting foorth vertuous doctrine, and laudable studie. But yet one thyng muche greueth me, that notwithstanding I haue euer honoured, and specially fauoured the reuerend colledge of approued phisicions, yet some of them heryng me spoken of, haue saied in derision, that although I were pretily seen in hystories, yet beyng not lerned in physicke, I haue put in my booke diuers errors, in presumyng to write of herbes and medicines. First as concernyng hystories, as I haue planted them in my workes, beyng wel understand, they be not so light of importance as they dooe esteeme them, but may more surely cure mens affections, then diuers physicions do cure maladies. Nor whan I wrate first this boke, I was not all ignorant in physicke. For before that I was twentie yeres olde, a woorshipfull physicion, and one of the moste renowned at that time in England, perceiuyng me by nature enclyned to knowlage, radde unto me the workes of Galene of temperantes, naturall facultees, the introduction of Johannicius, with some of the Aphorismes of Hippocrates. And afterward by mine own studie, I radde ouer in order the more part of the workes of Hippocrates, Galenus, Oribasius, Paulus Celius, Alexander Trallian, Celsus, Plinius the one and the other, with Dioscorides. Nor I dyd omitte to read the long Canones of Auicenna, the commentaries of Auerroys, the practises of Isake, Haliabbas, Rasis, Mesue,



and also of the more parte of them whiche were their aggregatours and folowers. And although I haue neuer been at Mountpellier, Padua, nor Salern, yet haue I found some thyng in phisicke, wherby I haue taken no littall profite concernyng myne owne helth. Moreouer I wote not why Physicians should be angrie with me, sens I wrate and did set forth the Castell of helth for their commoditee, that the uncertayne tokens of wines, and other excrementes should not deceiue them, but that by the true informacion of the sicke man, by me instructed, they might be the more sure to prepare medicines conuenient for the diseases. Also to the intent that men obseruyng a good order in diete, and preuentyng the great causes of sicknesse, they should of those maladies the soner be cured. But if physicians be angry, that I haue written physicke in englishe, let them remember that the grekes wrate in greke, the Romans in latin, Auicenna, and the other in Arabike, whiche were their own proper and maternall tongues. And if thei had been as muche attached with enuie and couetise, as some nowe seeme to be, they would haue deuised some particuler language, with a strange cypher or forme of letters, wherein they wold haue written their scyence, whiche language or letters no manne should haue knowen that had not professed and practised physicke: But those, although they were Paynims and Jewes, in this part of charitee, they farre surmounted us christians, that they would not haue so necessarie a knowlage as physicke is, to be hidde from them, whiche would be studiouse about it.

"Finally God is my iudge, I write neyther for glorie, rewarde, nor promocion, onely I desire men to deeme well mine intent, sens I dare assure them, that all that I haue written in this boke, I haue gathered of the most principall writers in physicke. Whiche beyng thoroughly studied and wel remembred, shall be profitable (I doubt not) unto the reader, and nothyng noyouse to honest physicians, that dooe measure their studie, with moderate liuyng and christen charitee."

Second Book: Leaves 16a-17b.

"The Quantitie of meate must be proportioned after substaunce and qualitie therof, and accordyng to the complexion of hym that eateth fyrst it ought to be remēbred, that meates hotte and moyste, whyche are qualities of the bloudde, are soone tourned into bloudde, and therefore moche nourysheth the body. Some meates do nourish but lyttell, hauynge lyttell conformitie with bloude in theyr qualities. Of them, whiche do noryshe, some are more grosse, some lyghter in digestion. The grosse meate ingendreth grosse bloude, but where it is wel concoct in the stomake, and well digested, it maketh the flesshe more



firme, and the officiall members more stronge, thanne fyne metes. wherfore of men, whiche use moch labour or exercise, also of them, which haue uery cholerike stomakes, here in England, grosse meated may be eaten in a great quantitie: and in a cholerike stomake briefe is better digested than a chykens legge, for asmoche as in a hotte stomacke fyne meates be shortely aduste and corrupted.

" Contrarywyse in a colde or fleumatike stomake grosse meate abydeeth longe undigested, and maketh putrified matter, lyght meates therefore be to suche a stomacke more apt and conuenient. The temperate bodye is best nourysshed with a lyttell quantitie of grosse meates: but of temperate meates in substance and qualitie, they may safely eat a good quantitie. Foresene alwaye, that they eat without gourmandyse, or leaue with some appetite. And here it wold be remembred, that the cholerike stomake, doth not desyre so moch as he may digeste, the melancholye stomake may not digeste so moche as he desyreth: for colde maketh appetyte, but naturall heate concocteth or boyleth. Not withstandyne unnaturall or supernaturall heate destroyeth appetite, and corrupteth digestion, as it appereth in feuers. Morouer fruytes and herbes, especially rawe, wold be eaten in a smalle quantitie, all though the persone be very cholerike, forasmoch as they do ingender thynne watrye bloudde, apt to receyue putrifaction, whiche althoughe it be not shortely perceyued of hym that useth it, at length they fele it by sondry diseases, which are longe in comynge and shortly fleeth, or be hardly escaped. Fynallye excesse of meates is to be abhorred. For as it is sayde in the booke called Ecclesiasticus, In moch meate shall be sycknes and inordinate appetite shall approach unto choler. Semblably the quantitie of drynk wold be moderated, that it excede not, nor be equalle unto the quantitie of meate, especially wine, whiche moderately taken, aydeeth nature, and comforteth her, and as the sayde author of Ecclesiasticus sayth, wyne is a reioycynge to the soule and body. And Theognes saythe in Galenes warke, A large draughte of wyne is ylle. A moderate draught is not onely not ylle, but also cōmodious or profitable.

## "Of qualitie of meates. Cap. 2.

"Qualitie is in the complexion, that is to saye, it is the state thereof, as hotte or colde, moyste or drye. Also some meates be in wynter colde in aete, and in vertue hotte. And it wolde be consydered, that euery cōplexion <sup>tem</sup>perate & untemperate, is cōferued in his state, by that which is lyke therto in fourme and degree. But that whiche excedeth moche in dystemperaunce, must be reduced to his





temperaunce, by that whiche is contrarye to hym in fourme or qualitie, but lyke in degree moderately used. By fourme is understande grossenes, fynnesse, thycknesse, or thynnesse, by degree as the fyrste, the seconde, the thyrde, the fourth, in heate, colde, moysture, or drythe.

"Of Custome. Cap. 3.

"Custome in feedynge is not to be contemned, or lyttell regarded: for those meates, to the whiche a man hath ben of longe tyme accustomed, though they be not of substance commendable, yet do they somtyme lasse harme than better metes wherunto a man is not used. Also the meates and drynkes, whiche do moche delyte him that eateth, ar to be preferred before that, whiche is better, but more unsauery. But if the custome be too perniciouse, that it nedes must be lefte, than wolde it be withdrawn by lyttell and lyttell in tyme of helthe, and not of sycknesse. For yf it shoulde be withdrawn in tyme of sycknesse, nature shulde susteyne treble detriment, first by the grefe induced by sycknesse, seconde by receyuyng of medicines, thurdly by forbearynge the thyng, wherin she delyteth."

Leaves 42b-44a.

"Besydes the tymes of the yere, and ages, there be also other tymes of eatynge and drynkyng to be remembred, as the sondry tymes in the daye, whiche we call meales, whiche are in noumber and dystaunce, accordynge to the temperature of the countrey and persone: As where the countrey is colde, and the persone lusty and of a strong nature, there may no meales be used, or the lasse distance of tyme betwene them. Contrarywise in contrary countrys and personages, the cause is afore rehersed, where I haue spoken of the diet of the times of the yere, not withstādyng here must be also consideratiō of exercise and reste, which do augmente or apeireth the naturall disposition of bodyes, as shall be more declared hereafter in the chapter of exercise. But concernyng the general usage of cōtreys, & admittyng the bodies to be in perfit state of helth, I suppose that in England yong men, untyll they come to the age of. xl yeres, may wel eate thre meales in one daye, as at breakefaste, dyner, & supper, so that betwene breakefast and dyner, be the space of foure houres at the leaste, betwene dyner and supper. vi. houres, and the breakefast lasse thā the dyner, and the dyner moderate, that is to say, lasse than saciete or fulnes of bealy, and the drynke therunto measurable, accordynge to the drynesse or moystnesse of the meate. For moch abundance of drynk at meale, drowned the meate eaten, and not onely letteth conuenient concoction in the stomake, but also causeth it to passe



faster than nature requyreth, and therfore ingendreth moche fleume, and consequently reumes, & crudenes in the vaynes, debilitie and slyppernesse of the stomake, continuall fluxe, and many other inconueniences to the body and membres. But to retourne to meates, I thynke breakefastes necessary in this realme, as well for the causes before rehersed, as also forasmoche as choler, beyng feruent in the stomake, sendeth up fumositie unto the brayn, and causeth heedache, and somtyme becometh aduste, and smouldreth in the stomake, whereby happeneth peryllous sycknes, and sommetyme sodayn deth, yf the heate inclosed in the stomake haue not other conuenient matter to worke on this dayly experience proueth, and natural reson confirmeth. Therefore men and womē not aged, hauing their stomakes cleane without putrified matter, slepyng moderately and fondely in the nyght, and felynge them selfe lyghte in the mornynge, and swete breathed, lette them on goddes name breake theyr faste: coleryke men with grosse meate, men of other complexions with lyghter meate, foreseene, that they labour somewhat before: semblably their dyner and supper, as I haue before written, so that they sleape not incontinent after theyr meales. And here I wyll not recite the sentences of authors, whiche had neuer experience of englysshe mens natures, or of the iuste temperature of this realme of Englande, onely this counsell of Hipocrates shall be sufficient. We ought to graunt somewhat to tyme, to age, and to custome: not withstandynge where great werynesse or drythe, greued the body, there oughte the dyner to be the lesse, and the longer distance betwene dyner and supper. Also moche reste, excepte a lyttell softe walkyng, that by an upryght mouyng, the meate being styred, may descende. This is alway to be remembred, that where one seleth hymselfe full, and greued with his dyner, or the sauoure of his meate by eructation ascēdeth or that his stomake is weke by late sycknesse or moche study, than is it most conuenient, to abstayne from supper, and rather prouoke him selfe to sleape moche, than to eate or drynke anythyng. Also to drynke betweene meales, is not laudable, excepte very great thirst constrayneth, for it interrupteth the office of the stomake in concoction, and causeth the meate to passe faster than it shulde do, and the drynke beyng colde, it rebuketh naturall hete that is workyng, and the meate remaynyng rawe, it corrupteth dygestyon, and makyth crudenesse in the vaynes. wherfore he that is thyrsty, let hym consyder the occasyō. If it be of salt fleume, let him walke fayre and softly, and onely wasshe his mouthe, and his throote with barely water, or small ale, or lye downe and sleape a lyttell, and so the thyrste will passe away, or at the leaste be well asswaged. If it happen by extreme heate of the ayre, or by pure choler, or eatynge of hot spices, let him drynke a lyttell iulep



made with cleane water and sugar, or a lyttell small biere or ale, so that he drynke not a great glutte, but in a luttell quantitie, let it styll downe softly into his stomake, as he sytteth, and than let hym not moue sodeynly. If the thyrste be in the euenyng by eatynge to moche, and drynkynge of wyne that after the opinion of the beste lerned phisitions, and as I my selfe haue often experienced, the best remedy is, yf there be no feuer, to drinke a good draught of colde water immediately, or els yf it be not paynefull for hym to vomyte, to prouoke hym ther to with a lyttel warme water and so to sleape longe and soundly, yf he can. And yf in the mornynge he fele any fumositie rysyng, than to drynke iulep of violettes, or for lacke therof, a good draught of very small ale or biere somewhat warmed, without eatyng any thyng after it."

Leaf 88.

"I hadde almoste forgotten, that there is no better preseruatiue than to flee frome the place corrupted, betyme and farre of, and to let none approche you, that hath made theyr abode, where the plage is feruent. More ouer receyue not into your house any staffe, that commeth out of a house, wherin any person hath ben infected. For it hath bene sene, that such stuffe lyenge in a cofer shutte by the space of two yeres, after that the coffer hath ben opened, they whiche haue stande nygh to it, haue ben infected, and sone after haue died. But there I always excepte the powre of god, which is wonderfull, and also mercifull, aboue mans reason or counsell, preseryng or strykyng whom, whan, and where, it shall lyke his maiestie, to whom be glorie and prayse euerlastyng. Amen.

"Thus make I an ende of this treatise, desyrynge them that shall take profyte therby to defende it agaynste enuyous dysdayn, on whom I haue set the aduēture for the loue that I bare to my countrey: requyrynge all honest phisitions to remember, that the intent to my labour was that men and women redyng this warke, and obseruyng the counsayles therin, shulde adapte therby their bodyes, to receyue more sure remedye by the medicine prepared by good phisitions in daūgerous syknesses, they kepyng good dyet, and infourmyng dilygently the same phisitions, of the maner of theyr affectes, passyō, and sensyble tokens. And so shall the noble and most necessarye science of phisicke, with the ministers therof escape the sclaunder whyche they haue of longe tyme systeyned and accordyng to the precepte of the wise man be worthely honoured for asmoche as the hyghest god dyd create the phisition for mans necessitie. And of the earth created medicine and the wyse man shall not abhorre it. Thus fare ye well gentyle reders and forget me not wyth your goode reporte and



praye to God that I be neuer wars occupied."

### Later Editions

1541; 1547; 1561; 1572; 1580; 1610. (Counting three editions in 1541, the British Museum catalogue lists nine editions of this book. A long-hand note on the fly-leaf of the second 1541 edition states that there were in all thirteen editions.)

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## THE DOCTRINAL OF PRINCES

(1534)

### Title-page

"The Doctri= / nal of Prin= / ces made by the / noble oratour / Isocrates / & trans= / lated / out of Greke into En= / glishe by syr Tho= / mas Eliot / knight." The date is set in the border at the bottom.

### Colophon

"Imprinted at / London in Flete Strete, in the / house of Thomas / Berthelet / Cum priuilegio ad impriz= / mendum solum."

### Subject

As the title page states, a translation of an oration by Isocrates on the virtues of a noble prince and the rules for his proper conduct. Length: i and 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  leaves, or 37 pages.

### Extracts

"Sir Thomas Eliot knight to the reader.

"This little booke (whiche in mine opinion is to be compared in conſaile and ſhort ſentenced with any booke, holy ſcripture excepted, I haue translated out of greeke, not preſumyng to contende with them, whiche haue doone the ſame in latine: but to thintent onely that I wolde aſſaie, if our Engliſſhe tunge mought receiue the quicke and propre ſentences pronounced by the greekes. And in this experience I haue founde (if I be not muche deceiued) that the forme of ſpeakyng, used of the Greekes, called in





greeke, and also in latine Phrasis, muche nere approcheth to that, whiche at this daie we use: than the order of the latine tunge: I meane in the sentences, and not in the wordes: whiche I doubt not shall be affirmed by them, who sufficiently instructed in all the saide three tungen, shall with a good iudgment read this worke. And where I haue put at the beginnyng this word , vessell, plate, or for that which is in greeke, brasse or golde wrought, it is perceiued of euery wise man, for what intent I did it. Finally the chiefe cause of this my litle exercise was: to the intent that thei, which do not understande greeke nor latine, shoulde not lacke the commoditee and pleasure, whiche maie be taken in readyng therof. wherfore if I shall perceiue you to take this myne enterprise thankfully, I shall that little porcion of life, whiche remaineth (God sendyng me quietnesse of minde) bestowe in preparing for you such books, in the readyng wherof, ye shall finde bothe honest passe tyme and also profitable counsaile and lernyng. Fare ye well."

Later Editions (None)

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THE BANKETTE OF SAPIENCE

(1534)

Title-page

"The Ban= / kette of / Sapience. / compyled by / syr / Thomas Eliot / knyghte, and newly / augmented with / dyuerse tytles / and senten- / ces."

Colophon

"Londini in sedibus Thomae Ber- / theleti typis impress./ Cum privilegio ad imprimen= / dum solum. / Anno. M.D.XXXIX."

Subject

A collection of proverbs, arranged and classified, as the "Table" indicates. Length: iv and 46 leaves, or 100 pages.

Extracts

"To the Kynge ovr most gracious souer-  
aygne lorde, the prologue of Syr Thomas  
Elyot knyght, to the Bankette of Sapience.



"After longe fasting and also moche trauaylle, it hath ben thought euer most noble prince, not onely conuenient, but also to stande with good reason, to haue a dyner or supper prouyded with meates suffycient, as well to recreate the vytall spirites, as to restore eftesoones the strength abated by labours. More ouer in this tyme of the yere, called the sprynge tyme, prouoked by the naturall beautie and ioyous aspecte of the flouryshynge habyte of this tēporall worlde, the nature of them, in whom is any sprake of gentyll courage, requyreth to solace and bankette with mutuall resorte, cōmunicatyng together their fantasyes and sondry deuyses, whiche was not abhorred of the most wyse and noble philosophers, as may appere to them, that haue witsaufed to rede the warkes of Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarche, whiche they named Symposia, called bankettes in Englysshe. Semblably I being styred most excellent Prince: by a lyke imitation, considering the longe abstinence & fasting of this presente Lent, with also the contynuall trauayle that your hyghnes, your counsaylle, and dyuers your subiectes haue sustayned in consultancyng about the weale publyke of this your gravis most noble realme, I haue prouyded this lyttell banquet (so is this lytle treatise intituled) cōposed of sōdry wyse cōūcels, gathered by me out of the warkes of moste excellent persons, as wel faithfull as gentyles. And lyke as in this lustye tyme, thinges do appere in sondry dilectable colours and facions, so in this lytle boke shall your grace and other readers behold sentences sundry and dyuers, whiche I do applye vnto bankettyng dishes, made and seasoned by Sapience her self, and serued forth to the table by them, whiche dyd wryte or pronounce them. And as for me, I haue no more parte in the bankette, nor deserue any more praise therfore, than one of them that beareth a torche before euery course whan they come from the dresser: And yet where there is suche abundance, I may perchance for my labour haue the reuertion or scrappes of som of the dishes. Finally for asmoche as dyuers metes be of dyuers qualities, som swete, some poynant, some aygre doulce: it shall be expedient, that euery dyshe of this banquet, be thoroughly touched, doutyng not but how so euer the tast shal content men, al shalbe holsome, if they be wel masticate, and not hastily deuoured. This litel warke with my labours haue I dedicate vnto your highnes, vnto whom of bounden duetie beinge your humble seruant, I owe al my studyes, prayer, seruyce, & loyaltie, beseechinge your grace to receyue this lyttell warke, as a token of my sincere mind & intent, accordinge to your accustomed & incomparable gentylnes. And for my part I shall dayly pray the auctour & fountaine of sapience to preserue your most royall person in the abundaunce of his grace, to the comfort of your louing subiectes."



"The Introduction to the Banket.

"Sapiēce hath builded a house for her selfe, she hath prepared her wine & laide forth her table, she calleth out abrode in the stretes, & in the chiefe assembly of people, and at the gates of the cytie she speketh with a loude voice: Ye babies, how long wil ye delyte in your childyshnes? And how longe wyl fooles couete those thynges whiche shall hurt thē? And they which lacke wit hate knowlege & lernyng? Come on & eate ye mi brede & drike my wyne that I haue ordeined now for you. To me do belōg Couſayll & equitie. min is prudēce, & min also fortitude. By me kynges do reign, & makers of lawes do determyne those thynges that be ryghtwyse. By me pryncis do gouerne, & mē in autorite do giue sentece accordyng to iustice. I loue them that loue me, & they that wake erely shal finde me, with me do remaine both substace & renoume, stately richesſe, & Iustyce, my fruyte doth excell gold & stones p̄cious, and my branches are better than fyne tryed siluer, my walkes be in the high waies of iustice, & in the middel of the pathes of iugement, to the intēt that I wil make thē ryche that do loue me, and fil vp their treasures."

Later Editions

1542; 1545; 1557; 1575.

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A SVVETE AND DEVOUTE SERMON OF HOLY SAYNT CIPRIAN  
OF MORTALITIE OF MAN

(1534)

Title-page

"A Svвете/and Devoute / Sermon of Holy / saynt Ciprian  
of morta= / litie of man. The ru- / les of a Christian /  
lyfe made by / Picus erle / of Mi= / ran= / dula, bothe  
translated / into englyshe by syr / Thomas E= / lyot /  
knyghte. / Londini in Aedibus. / Tho. Bertheleti."

Colophon

"Thomas Berthelet regius im- / pressor excudebat. / An.  
1534. / Cum Privilegio."



## Subject

As the title-page states, a translation of a sermon from St. Cyprian. Length:  $iii\frac{1}{2}$  and  $26\frac{1}{2}$  leaves, or 60 pages. This is followed by a translation into English prose of the Rules from Picus: 5 leaves, or 10 pages.

## Extracts

"To my ryghte worshypfull suster dame  
Susan Kyngestone.

"The circumspecte person, whiche is accustomed one tyme in the yere, to be vexed with feuer, Catarre, or lyke sykenes, preuenteth that tyme by expulsynge the matter, whiche moughte be occasion of suche desseases, and studyeth to reduce the bodye into suche temperaunce, and so to preserue hit, as the sayde matter shall not be augmented, wherby moughte ensue any detriment: Lyke industry, or rather moche more, ought to be used, good Suster, of euery raysonable creature, as well agaynste the mooste certayne sikenes and fynall dyssolution of nature called corporall death, as also agaynst all worldly vexations and troubles, called the toyces of fortune, or the crankes of the worlde: consydering that of any of them neyther the tyme can be knowen, whan they shal happen, nor assured remedy may be founden for to repelle theym, onely a pure and constante faythe, hauynge therto ioyned wysedome and pacience, may sustayne theyr assaults, and stronglye resyste them. As it is excellently declared and taughte by the holy doctour and martyr sayncte Cyprian, in a sermon which he made to the people of Affrica, where he was Bushop, in the tyme whan there was continuall persecution of paynymys, and also mortalitie by generall pestilence. whiche sermone whan I had ones pused in redynge, I liked so well, that I desyred that all other persones moughte understonde it. Remembrynge that many there be (whiche I doubte not) are as neglygente as I in consydering those sondry calamities, not withstandynge that they haue beholden men and women of euery astate, whiche haue dyed eyther before that they looked for death, or in some other wyse than they vouched saulfe, or els forsaken of fortune haue lyued in pouertye. Wherefore as welle for theyr instructyon as myne, howe we may be alway prepared agaynst those naturall and worldly afflictions, I haue traunslated this lyttell boke: not supersticiousely folowynge the letter, whiche is verely elegante, and therefore the harder to traslate into our langage, but kepynge the sentence and intent of the Autuor I haue attempted (not with lyttell study) to reduce into english the right phrase or forme of speakyng, used in this treatise, whiche I haue





dedycate and sente unto you for a token: that ye shall perceyue, that I doo unfaynedly loue you, not onely for our allyaunce, but also moche more for youe perseuerance in vertu & warkes of true faith, praieng you to communicate it with our two susters religiouse Dorothe & Alianour, and to ioyne in your praiers to god for me, that I may be constante in his seruice, and performe well such other warkes as ben in my handes onely to his honour and glory.

"I haue added hereto a litel tretise, but wonderful frutful, made by the vertuose & noble prince Johñ Picus Erle of Mirandula, who in abundāce of lerning & grace incomparablye excelled all other in his tyme and sens. whose picture I wolde to god were in all noble mens chambers, and his grace and vertues in theyr soules and maners. Hartyly fare ye wel. At london the fyrst day of July, the yere of our lorde god 1534."

Pages 1-4.

"S. Ciprian. The sermon of holy sayncte Ciprian, of mortalytie of man.

"Righte wel beloued frendes, all be it that manye of you, haue your myndes intier & perfecte, the fayth stable, and the soule deuoute: not beinge meued with the hugenesse of this present mortalytie, but like to a puissant & steadfaste rocke rather do breake the troublous assaultes of this worlde, and the violente floodes of this present tyme, the soule herselfe not beinge broken ne ouercome with any temptations, but onely proued. Nethelasse for as moche as I doo consyder to be in the multitude dyuers whiche eyther by waykenes of courage, or by smalnes of fayth, or by swetenesse of the lyfe of this worlde, or by the delicatenes of theyr kinde, or (that whiche is a more heuye thyng) beyng deceyued in the opinion of truthe, doo not stande faste ne set forth the diuine and inuincible might of their stomakes. I moughte no lenger dissemble that mater, ne retaine it in silence, but that as ferre forth as the meannesse of my lernynge or wytte moughte extende I wold declare the doctryne of Christe by a sermone conceyued & lyfely expressed, to the intent that the slouth and dulnesse of delycate myndes moughe be reformed. And also that he, whiche hathe all redye professed to be the sernaunte of Christe, may hereafter be demed worthy of Christe, & therto accepted. Verely good frendes, he that fyghteth for god, & being in the celestial cāpe doth hope on thingis that he godlye, oughte to knowe well hym selfe, to the intente that in the tempestes and stormes of this world, there be in us no dred or fearefulnesse, sense almyghtye god hath afore warned, that such thynges shulde happen. Instructynge and teachynge us by his owne mouthe with a prouidente exhortation, and therwāth pre-



parynge and comfortynge the people of his church to the paciente sufferance of thynges to come, wherin he prophecied and declared unto us, that bataile, famine, erthquakes, and pestilence shuld arysse in sondrye contrayes and places. And to the intents that no sodayne dreade, or feare of straunge thynges anoyenge us, shoulde in any wyse appresse or abashe us, he tolde us before, that towarde the ende of the worlde, aduersities and troubles shulde more and more be increased. Now beholde, all that whiche he spake of hath happened, and is come amonge us. And sith that is now happened, whiche was before spoken of, there shall also nowe ensue all that which was promysed, our lorde hym selfe promysyng and sayeng: What time ye shall see all these thinges come to passe, than be you sure that the kyngedome of heuen is at hande."

Pages 46-48

"Saynote John in his Epistle speaketh and cryeth unto us, exhorting us not to loue this world in folowing our appetites: Loue not the worlde (saythe he) ne the thynges whiche be in it. For who so euer loueth the worlde, the charitie of the father of heuen is not in him: sens all that is in the worlde is inordinate appetite of the fleshe, inordinate appetite of the eyen, and desyre of worldlye honour, whiche do not procede of our father, but of worldly appetite. And yet the worlde and his vayne appetite shall vanishe away, but he whiche shall fulfyll the pleasure of god, shall abyde euerlastynge, lyke as god is euer eternall. Therefore good frendes let us all way be bounde and redy to parforme all thyng that god willeth with a perfecte mynde, a faithe stable and constante, with vertue puissante and stronge, all feare of deathe utterlye excluded, and onelye thynkinge on the immortalitie, whiche immediatlye folowethe. Let us declare, that to be the thinge we do beleue in: and not lament the departing of theym, whome we do fauour. And when the daye of our sending for shal approche, let us willynglye and withoute anye stickynge, come unto god whan he calleth, whiche sens it oughte to be done of theym, whiche be the seruantes of god, moche rather nowe the worlde decayenge, and in poynte to falle, and also compassed with tempestes of euilles continuallye assaultinge it. Also we parceyue that great myshiefe is all redye begonne, and we knowe that moche gretter is commynge: Let us reken the grettest aduantage to departe shortelye from hense. which shal be for our speciall commoditie."

Later Editions (None)



THE RULES OF A CHRISTIAN LYFE

(1534)

(Published with A Sweet and Devout Sermon--which see)

The Rules:

"First, if to man or woman the way of virtue doth seem hard or painful, because we must needs fight against the flesh, the devil, and the world, let him or her call to remembrance that whatsoever life they will choose according to the world, many adversities and incommodities, much heaviness and labour are to be suffered.

"2. Moreover, let them have in remembrance, that in wealth and worldly possessions is much and long contention, laborious also and unfruitful, wherein travail is the end of labour, and finally pain everlasting, if those things be not well ordered and charitably disposed.

"3. Remember, also, that it is very foolishness to think to come unto heaven by any other mean than by the said battle, considering that our Head and Master Christ did not ascend unto heaven but by His Passion; and the servant ought not to be in better estate or condition than his master or sovereign.

"4. Furthermore, consider that this battle ought not to be grudged at, but to be desired and wished for, although thereof no price or reward might ensue or happen, but only that thereby we might be conformed or joined to Christ our God and Master. Wherefore, as often as in resisting any temptation thou dost withstand any of thy senses or wits, think unto what part of Christ's Passion thou mayest apply thyself or make thyself like. As resisting gluttony, whiles thou dost punish thy taste or appetite, remember that Christ received in His drink vinegar in the 1534 edition "aysell" mixed with the gall of a beast, a drink most unsavoury and loathsome.

"When thou withdrawest thy hand from unlawful taking or keeping of anything which liketh thy appetite, remember Christ's hands as they were fast nailed unto the tree of the cross. And resisting of pride think on Him, Who being very God Almighty, for thy sake received the form of a subject, and humbled Himself unto the most vile and reproachful death of the cross. And when thou art tempted to wrath, remember that He, Who was God, and of all men the most just or righteous, when He beheld Himself mocked, spit on, scourged, and punished with all despites and rebukes, and set on the cross among arrant thieves as if He Himself were a false evil-doer, He notwithstanding showed never token of indignation, or that He were grieved, but suffering all things with wonderful patience, answered



all men gently. In this wise, if thou wilt peruse all things one after another, thou mayest find that there is no passion or trouble that shall not make thee in some part conformable or like unto Christ.

"5. Also, put not thy trust in man's help, but only in the virtue of Christ Jesu, Who sayed: Trust well, for I have vanquished the world. And in another place He saith: The prince of this world is cast out thereof. Wherefore let us trust, by His virtue alone, to vanquish the world and to subdue the devil. And therefore ought we to ask His help, by our own prayers, and by the prayers of His blessed Saints.

"6. Remember, also, that as soon as thou hast vanquished one temptation, another is always to be looked for. The devil always goeth about and seeketh for him whom he would devour. Wherefore we ought to serve diligently, and be ever in fear, and to say with the Prophet: Look towards my defence always.

"7. Take heed, moreover, that not only thou be not vanquished of the devil that tempteth thee, but also that thou vanquish and overcome him. And that not only when thou dost not sin, but also when of that thing wherein he tempted thee, thou takest occasion to do good. As if he offereth thee some good act to be done, to the intent that thereby thou mayest fall into vain-glory, forthwith thou thinking it not to be thy deed or work, but the benefit or reward of God, humble thou thyself, and judge thee to be unkind unto God in respect of His manifold benefits.

"8. As often as thou dost fight, fight as in hope to vanquish, and to have at the last perpetual peace. For peradventure God shall give unto thee of His abundant grace, and the devil being confused of thy victory, shall return again no more. Yet when thou hast vanquished, bear thyself so as if thou shouldst fight again shortly. Thus always in battle thou must prepare thee to battle immediately again.

"9. Although thou feelest thyself well-armed and ready, yet flee notwithstanding all occasions to sin. For, as the wise man saith: Who loveth perils shall perish therein.

"10. In all temptations resist the beginning, and beat the children of Babylon against the stone, which stone is Christ, and the children be evil thoughts and imaginations. For in long continuing of sin seldom worketh any medicine or remedy.

"11. Remember that, although in the said conflict of temptation the battle seemeth to be dangerous, yet consider how much sweeter it is to vanquish temptation than to follow sin, wherto she inclineth thee, whereof the end is repentance. And herein many be foul-deceived, who compare not the sweetness of victory to the sweetness of sin,





but only compare battle to pleasure. Notwithstanding a man or woman, who hath a thousand times known what it is to give place to temptation, should once assay what it is to vanquish temptation.

"12. If thou be tempted, think thou not therefore that God hath forsaken thee, or that He setteth but little by thee, or that thou art not in the sight of God good or perfect; but remember that after Saint Paul had heard such secret mysteries as be not lawful for any man to speak or rehearse, he for all that suffered temptation of the flesh, wherewith God suffered him to be tempted, lest he should be assaulted with pride. Wherein a man ought to consider that Saint Paul, who was the pure vessel of election, and rapt into the third heaven, was notwithstanding in peril to be proud of his virtues, as he saith of himself. Wherefore above all temptations man or woman ought to arm the most strongly against the temptation to pride, since pride is the root of all mischief, against which the only remedy is to think always that God humbled Himself for us unto the cross. And moreover that death hath so humbled us, whether we will or no, that our bodies shall be the meat of worms loathsome and venomous." \*

#### Dater Editions

Appended to Dom Wilfrid Raynal's edition (1872) of Richard Whytford's translation of the De Imitatio Christi, where it is erroneously attributed to Sir Thomas More.

\* Taken from Raynal's edition (1872) of the Imitatio Christi.

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#### THE EDUCATION OR BRINGINGE VP OF CHILDREN

(1535)

#### Title-page

"The Education or brin / ginge vp of children, tran= / slated oute of Plu= / tarche by syr / Thomas / Eliot / knyght."



### Colophon

"Thus endeth this very golden boke, / called the Educa-  
tion of children. / Imprinted at London in Fletestrete, in  
the house of / Thomas Berthelet, nere to the Cun- / dite,  
at the sygne of Lucrece. / Cvm Privilegio a Rege / in  
Dulto."

### Subject

A more detailed and personal treatise than the Gouvernour  
on the training of children. Length: 11 and 22 leaves, or  
48 pages.

### Extracts

"Thomas Eliot to his only entierly beloued  
syster Margery Puttenham.

"As in this tēporall lyfe no thing is to naturall  
man so desyrus as to haue by lefull encrease procreacion  
and frute of his body / semblably to a man of honestye or  
gentyl corage, there is no disease or grefe so intollerable  
as chyl dren of theyr disposicion abiecte or vicious:  
whiche declynyng from all vertue, in voluptuous and inor-  
dinate lyuinge not onely consume the goodes of theyr  
parentes and frendes, but also deface the good opiniō and  
fame, which perchance their auncetours, by some vertuous  
acte or studye haue acquired: whiche moste comunely  
hapneth by the remysse educacion or bringinge up of them.  
wherfore good syster, for as moche as I do consyder, with  
what fertilite almighty god hath endued you, to my great  
comforte, if your chyl dren do prospere in vertue and lern-  
yng, I therefore in tymes vacant from busynes & other  
more serious study, as it were for my solace & recreation,  
haue translated for you this lytell treatise entituled the  
Education of chyl dren, and made by Plutarch the excellent  
philosopher and mayster to Traiane, moost vertuous &  
noble of all Emperours: wherby ye shall be maruaylously  
instructed, or at the leste waye / hit shall adminiculate  
your wysedome (whiche I dare affirme is ryght laudable)  
in ordryng and instructyng your children, circumspectely  
and discretly. For as god shall iuge me, the lacke of  
children shuld nat be to me so payneful, as feare of hau-  
inge succession of heires, in whom shulde be lacke of ver-  
tue & lerning. wherfore good sister endeouour your selfe  
to adapte & forme in my lyttel newewes inclinaciō to ver-  
tue & doctrine, according to min expectaciō: which ye shall  
with more facilite performe if ye beare the contentes of  
this litell boke in your remembraunce: Aduertysynge you,  
that I haue not onely vsed therin the office of a transla-



tour, but also haue declared at lengthe dyuers histories, onely touched by Plutarch: to thetēt that difficultie of understandinge shall not cause the matter to be to you fastidious, as it often tymes hath hapened to other. Also of pourpose I haue omitted to translate some parte of this matter, conteyned as well in the Greke as in the Latin / partly for that it is strange frome the experience of vsage of this present tyme, partly that some vices be in those tonges reprobued, whiche ought rather to be unknowen, than in a vulgare tonge to be expressed. Nor I wolde not that any man shulde exacte of me the exquisite diligence of an interpretour, syns I wryte not to clerkes, ne desire not to haue my boke cōferred with the delectable styles of Grekes or Latines: but as I haue sayde, I haue this done for my pastyme without moch studie or trauaile. And it shall only suffice me, if by this littel labor I may cause you myn entierly beloued syster, to folowe the intent of Plutarche in brynginge & inducynge my litell neuwes into the trayne and rule of vertue, where by they shall fynally attayne to honour (god so disposinge) to the inestimable comforte of theyr naturall parentes, and other theyr louynge frendes: and moste specially to the high pleasure of god, commoditie and profite of theyr countray.

"Thus hartily fare ye wel, and kepe with you this token of my tender loue to you, which with the vertue and towardnes of your children shall be contynually augmented.

"From London the. xxvii. day of Nouēbre."

Later Editions

(None)

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HOWE ONE MAY TAKE PROFITE OF HIS ENMYES

(1535)

Title-page

"Howe one may / take profite of his en= / myes, translated / out of Plu= / tarche."

Colophon

"Thus endethe the maner to chose and cherysshe a frende, Imprinted at London in Fletestrete by Thomas Berthelet, printer to the kynges most noble grace. Cum priuilegio."



Subject

Plutarche, helping himself by frequent references to classical authors, urges rulers to be warned by friends and rebuked by enemies into refraining from vice, to follow the one and to beware of the other. (See next item)

Extracts (There is no preface)

\* \* \* \*

THE MANER TO CHOSE AND CHERYSSHE A FRENDE

(1535)

(Published in the volume with Howe one may take Profite of his Enmyes, which see.)

Subject

A short treatise based on classical authors. For the modern reader the title would have to be converted into "The Maner to Choose and Keep a Friend." Length: i, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  (the "Enmyes" item), and 3 (the "Frende" item) leaves, or 33 pages.

Extracts (There is no preface)

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THE DICTIONARY

(1538)

Title-page

"The / Dictio- / na- / ry / of Syr Thomas Eliot / knyght. / Londini in aedibus Thomae / Bertheleti typis impress. / Cum privilegio ad / imprimendum / solum."

Colophon

"Tho. Berthelet. regius impressor / excudebat. / Anno. M.D. XXXVIII."





Subject

A Latin-English dictionary, with a lengthy appendix of weights and measures. Total length: 213 leaves, or 426 pages.

Extracts

"To the moste Excellent Prince, and our moste redoubted soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the. VIII. kynge of Englande, and Fraunce, defender of the faythe, lorde of Irelande, and supreme heed in erthe immediately vnder Christe, of the Church of Englande, his humble and faythfull seruaunt, Thomas Elyot knyght desyreth perfite felicitie.

"Truely I am, and euer haue bene of this opynion, mooste noble, moste puissaunt, and moste vertuose Prynce, that the Royall astate of a kynge here in erth, next unto god, is of men moste to be honoured, loued, and feared in an incomparable degree and facion. For no man hauynge the free use of reason, beholdynge at his eien the disposition moste wonderfull sette by diuine prouydence in thynges aboue us, aboute us, and undernethe us, with the sondry alternations of tyme, wyll denye, to be of those thynges one principall ruler and moderatour, by whose eternall sapience all thynges ben gouerned. Unto that office of gouernance is (as it were by the generall consent of al people) one name appropriated, in the which although by diuersitie of languages, the letters and syllables are oftntymes chaunged, yet the worde spoken hath one signification which implieth as moche as a KINGE in englyshe, as it may appere to them, which do rede holy scripture, and will marke howe often god is there callid kinge, and also the prophetes do so frequently name hym. More ouer the paynims beinge only ladie with naturall affections, callyd Jupiter, to whome aboue other their goddis, they reserued the power uniuersall, kynge of goddis and of men: as who saythe, there may be no greater name gyuen unto hym, whome they supposed to be the gyuer of lyfe unto creatures. To the whiche example, for the similitude of that diuine office men dyd attribute unto their soueraygne gouernours that excellent denomination, calling them semblably kynges, and assigning to them the cōmune distribution of Justyce: wherby the people under their gouernaunce, shulde be kepte and preserued in quiete lyfe, not exercysed in bestiall appetite, but passed forth in all partes of honestie, they fynally shuld of god be rewarded with immortalitie. This wel consyded, it shall be to all



men apparant, that they, whiche rebell agaynst kynges, be ennemies to god, and in wyll confounders of naturall order and prouidence. But aboue all thinges, I haue in mooste admiration, the maiestie of you, whiche be verye kynges raygnyng in Justice, when I consyder, that therin semeth to be a thyng supernaturall, or (if it may be spoken without derogation unto goddis honour) a diuine influence or sparke of diuinitie: whiche late appered to all them that behelde your grace syttyng in the Throne of your royal astate, as supreme heed of the churche of Englande nexte under CHRIST, about the descicion and condemnation of pernicious errours, of the mooste delectable heretyke John Nicolson, callyd also Lambert, at the whyche tyme your hyghnesse, more excellently than my tunge or penne can expresse, declared to be in your royall persone the perfite image of kyngely maiestie, compacte of these excellent qualities, trewe Religion, Sapience, Justice, and Mercy, all men reioyng at the manifeste and most honorable declaration of your euangelicall faythe: meruaylynge at the fulmination of the moste vehement argumentes procedyng from your hyghnes in the confutation of abhomynable heresyces: extollynge the iuste reprehencions of the peruerse opinions and interpretations of the arrogant masters of the said Lambert, in whose writynges, and his owne propre wytte, he more trusted (as your hyghnesse trewely alledged agaynste hym) than in the playne context of holy scripture, and the determinate sentence of holy and great lerned doctours: Inioyenge also as well at your gracies mooste wonderfull pacyence, in the longe sustayninge of the folyshe and tediousse obiections of the sayde Lambert, as also at your most Christian charitie, in mouyng and exhortyng so stubborne an heretike, with the most gentyll and perswasible langage, to recant and forsake his mischeuouse heresies. This maiestie your true and louyng subiectes beholdyng, and than heryng the spirite of god speakyng in you, his enoynted kyng, and mynister elected: they were with ioy so replenyshed, that when they desyred to expresse eche to other the comforte, whiche they than receyued, the same comforte was of suche importance, that it mought none otherwyse be declared, but by abundance of teares, sent out of theyr eyen by unspekable gladnes. More ouer the presence of you, whyche are kynges, do minyster to them that be inferiours unto you, and amplification of powers callyd naturall, contayned as well in the wytte and senses, as in the force or puissance of corporall members, to the confirmation wherof, howe many men haue ben knowen, whyche er they haue attayned to the familyar acquaytaunce of kynges, haue bene demed to be, some but of a meane wytte and knowlege, some but of a base courage or prowesse, whiche afterwarde haue exceded in wytte or courage all mens expectations, and gynally bene of all men allowed for honourable and not-



able personages.

"Of this wonderfull maiestie in your royall person, most gracious souerayn lorde, I haue my selfe, in my selfe, late founde a meruaylous experience. For about a yere passed, I beganne a Dictionarie, declaryng latine by englishe, wherin I used lyttell study, beinge than occupied about my necessarye busynes, whiche letted me from the exacte labour and study requisite to the makynge of a perfyte Dictionarie: But whyles it was in printyng, and uneth the half deale performed, your highnes being informed therof, by the reportes of gentyll maister Antony Denny, for his wysedome and diligence worthily callyd by your highnesse into your priuie Chamber, and of Wylliam Tildisley, keper of your gracis Lybrarie, and after mooste specially by the recommendation of the most honourable lorde Crumwell, lorde priuie seale, fauourer of honestie, and next to your highnesse chief patron of vertue and cunnyng, conceyued of my labours a good expectation, and declaryng your moste noble and benevolent nature, in fauouryng them that wyll be well occupied, your hyghnesse in the presence of dyuers your noble men, commendynge myne enterprise, affirmed, that if I wolde earnestly trauayle therin, your highnes, as well with your excellent counsaile, as with suche bokes as your grace had, and I lacked, wold therin ayde me: with the which wordes? I confesse, I receiued a newe spirite, as me semed: wherby I founde forthwith an augmentation of my understandynge, in so moche, as I iudged all that, whiche I had writen, not worthy to come in your gracis presence, without an addition. Wherefore incontinent I caused the printer to cesse, and beginninge at the letter M, where I lefte, I passed forth to the last letter with a more diligent study. And that done, I eftesones returned to the fyrst letter, and with a semblable diligence performed the remenant. In the whiche my proceeding, I well perceyued, that all though dictionaries had ben gathered one of an other, yet nethelasse in eche of them ar omitted some latin wordes, interpreted in the bokes, whiche in order preceded. For Festus hath manye, whiche are not in Varros Analogi: Nonius hath some, whiche Festus lacketh: Nestor toke nat all that he founde in them bothe. Tortellius is not so abundant as he is diligent: Laurentius Valla wrate only of wordes, which are called elegancies, wherin he is undoubtedly excellent: Perothus in Cornucopie, dyd omitte almost none that before him were written, but in wordis compounde he is to compendious: Fryere Calepine (but where he is augmented by other) nothyng amended, but rather appaired that which Perottus had studiously gathered: Nebressensis was both well lerned and diligent, as it appereth in some wordes, as well greke as latine, is assuredly right cōmendable, but he is mooste occupied in the conference of phrasis of bothe the tungen, whiche in comparison are but in a fewe wordes: Dyuers other men haue written son-



dry annotations and commentaries on olde latine authors, among whom also is discorde in their expositions. Whan I consydered all this, I was attached with an horrible feare, remembryng my dangerous enterprise (I being of so smal reputation in lernyng in comparison of them, whom I haue rehearsed) as well for the difficultie in the true expressynge the lyuely sence of the latine wordes, as also the importable labours in serching expending and discussing the sentences of ancient writers. This premeditation abated my courage, and desperation was euen at hand to rent al in pieces that I had written, had not the beames of your royal maiestie entred into my harte, by remembraunce of the comforte, whiche I of your grace had lately receyued, wherewith my spirite was reuyued, and hath set up the sayle of good courage, and under your graces gouernance, your highnesse being myn onely mayster, and styrrer of the shyppe of all my good fortune, I am entred the goulfe of daynous enuie, hauynge fynished for this tyme this symple Dictionarie, wherin I dare affirme, may be founde a thousande mo latine wordes, than were together in any one Dictionarie publyshed in this royaume at the tyme whan I fyrste began to write this commentarie, which is almost two yerres passed. For beside the conference of phrases or fourmes of speakynge latin and englishe, I haue also added proper termes belongynge to lawe and phisike, the names of diuers herbes knowen among us: also a good number of fishes founden as wel in our ocean, as in our riuers: Moreouer sondrie poysis, coyne, and measures, sometyme used among the auncient Romaines, Grekes, and Hebrues, whiche knowlege to the reders not only of histories and orations of Tullie, but also of holy scripture, and the bokes of auncient phisitions, shall be founde pleasant and also commodiouse. Nor I haue omitted proverbes, callyd Adagia, or other quicke sentences, whiche I thought necessarie to be had in remembraunce. All be it for as moche as partely by negligence at the begynnynge, partly by untrue information of them, whom I trusted, also by to moche trust had in Calepine, some fautes may be founden by dilygent redynge, I therfore most humbly beseche your excellent maiestie, that where your hyghnesse shall happen to doubte of any one worde in the fyrste parte of this warke, or perchance do lacke any worde, whiche your maiestie shall happen to rede in any good author, that it maye lyke your grace to repayre incontinente unto the seconde parte, whiche is myn addition, sekynge there for the same worde in the letter, wherwith he begynneth, trustynge veryly, that your highnes, there shall be satisfied. And for as moche as by haste

made in printyng, some letters may happen to lacke, some to be sette in wronge places, or the ortography not to be truely obserued, I therfore haue put all those fautes in a table folowing this preface: wherby they may be easily cor-





rected: and that done, I truste in god no manne shall fynde cause to reiect this boke, but rather thankfully to take my good wyll and labours, gyuyng to your maiestie mooste hartye thanks, as to the chiefe author thereof, by whose pracious meanes menne beinge studious, may understande better the latine tunge in syxe monethes, than they mought haue doone afore in thre yeres, withoute perfyte instructours, whyche are not many, and suche as be, are not easy to come by: the cause I nede not to rehearse, sens I ones declared it in my boke called the Gouvernour, whiche aboute. viii. yeres passed, I dydde dedicate unto your maiestie, for the good estimation that your grace retayneth of my poore lerning and honestie, promysynge therefore to your highnes, that duryng my lyfe naturall, I shall faythfully employe all the powers of my wytte and body, to serue truely your maiestie in euery thyng, wherto your mooste excellent iudgement, shall thynke my seruyce conuenient & necessary, In the meane tyme and alway, as your bounden seruant, I shall hartily pray unto god, ro prospere your hyghenes in all your vertououse procedynges, grauntynge also that your maiestie may longe raigne ouer us, to the incomparable comforte and ioye of all your naturall and louynge subiectes. Amen."

The Proheme (1545 edition)

"To the moste roiall and puissant prince, and his moste redoubted soueraigne lorde kyng Henry the eight, kyng of Englande, France, and Irelande, defender of the feithe, and of the Church of Englande and also of Irelande in earthe the supreme head: his humble seruant, Thomas Elyot knight, desyreth perpetuall felicitie.

"The honorable philosopher Plutarchus, most woorthie maister to Traiane the emperour, dooeth define in a similitude mooste apte and propre, what is signified by the dignitee and name of a kynge, sayng: That whiche god is in heauen, and the sonne in the firmament, the same in earthe is a kyng to those, whom he gouerneth. In almighty god nothyng is greater than Iustice, whereby he rewardeth good men, aboue their merites, and punisheth yll men under their deseruynges. The power of the Sonne is declared, whan he surmountyng the rigorous stormes of sturdie winter, and beyng in his mooste dilectable progresse of lustie sprynge tyme, sheweth to the worlde his celestially visage discovered: than herbes, graynes, and fruites, bothe holosome and dilectable be founde in abundance, the pleasant verdure of trees dooeth delite the



beholders, the birdes in their harmonie dooe declare,  
 howe muche thei reioyce at the benigne aspecte of that  
 noble planete. Likewise that kyng, whiche gouerheth for  
 the weale of his countrey, beholdyng benignely them that  
 be studious, or occupied about thynges that be vertuous,  
 he not onely dooeth animate or geue life to their cour-  
 ages, but also rendreth to their wittes a more sharpe-  
 nesse, with a prompte dexteritee, armed with hardinesse.  
 It is therefore no meruaile, that great kinges haue in  
 their counsailes moste witty persones, seying that the  
 makyng of great wittes is in their puissaunce, although  
 vertue procedeth immediately from God, and sapience like  
 wise. And yet sapience is often tymes hyd in those per-  
 sones, whom either malicious wittes hateth, or enuie  
 pursueth, or fortune contemneth. Of the saied power  
 annexed (as it were) unto a kynges maiestee, moste noble  
 prince, moste gracious soueraigne lorde, I amonge diuers  
 other haue had good experience. For where about two  
 yeres passed, farre aboue myn expectacion, I receiued  
 by wordes procedyng from the mouthe of your highnesse,  
 comfort incredible to the setting foorth of my Diction-  
 arie, whiche at that tyme I had lately begun, and that  
 very sengly, and with littel studie: I all inflamed with  
 the said comfort, dyd afterwarde procede therin muche  
 more exactly, and dyd ampliate the warke aboue that that  
 I purposed: so that your Maiestee (as I was infourmed)  
 and diuers other commended my diligence. Not withstand-  
 yng, the saied comfortable wordes of your highnesse,  
 contynually resortyng unto my remembrance, ceased not  
 to prouoke me to reade ouer eftsones, and reuolue my  
 saied warke, fearyng (as god shall iudge me) lest by my  
 negligence, either some woordes lackyng, or some inter-  
 pretacion beyng misconceiued, my labours shulde be not  
 onely unprofitable unto the readers, but also unworthie  
 the moste benigne and fauorable reporte of your excel-  
 lent maiestee. I therefore moste feruently stirred by  
 your gracis comforte, in perusyng my saied Dictionarie,  
 haue proceeded to the correction and amplificacion ther-  
 of, in suche fourme, as hereafter foloweth. First se-  
 questryng my selfe from all other businesse (that onely  
 excepted, wherin I was bounden to serue your highnesse)  
 I assembled all suche authours as I thought shulde be  
 necessarie for the acheiuyng of that, whiche I toke in  
 enterprise, whose names dooe immediately folowe this  
 proeme, and laiying them before me, I not onely dyd  
 seriously and diligently trie and examine euery worde,  
 whiche either in significacion or fourme of speakyng,  
 called a phrase, mought make any doubt to them that  
 shulde reade it, and by the same authors dyd as truely  
 correct it, as my learnyng wolde serue me: but also with



a new spirite of hardinesse, receiued by the often remembrance of your gracious saied comforte, I folowyng the example of Suidas the greke, aduentured to make a general collection by the ordre of letters of all notable cōtreys, citees, mountaynes, and riuers, with their true descripcions, boundes, and commoditees: the names and natures of sundrie beastes, foules, serpentes, and fishes: the declaracion of a great numbere of herbes, trees, fruites, gummes, precious stones and metalles, whiche before me were neuer of any man (that I can here of) declared and set foorth in englishe: The true definitions of all sicknesse and kyndes of maladies, whiche commonly dooe happen to men, with the cause wherof they procede: Finally the names of moste notable personages, who from the first man Adam until thre hundred yeres after the incarnation of Christe, dyd any thyng woorthie a speciall remembrance, expedient and necessarie to the moderacion of our actes and procedynges, with the histories or lyues of the saied persones compendiously gathered. I haue not omitted fables and muencions of painyms, for the more easy understandyng of poetes. I also thought it necessarie to enterlace the detestable heretikes, with their sundrie heresies, concernyng the substance of our catholike feithe, iustly condemned by the hole consent of all true christen men, to the intent that those heresies, beyng in this wise diuulgate, maie be the sooner espied and abhorred in suche booke, where they be craftily enterlaced with holsome doctrine. Ne the knowlage of them as heresies maie indamage any man in his conscience (as some men haue supposed) more than the commune knowlage and ofte recitacion of treasons, fornicacion, or felonies contriued or practised in sundry facions, for as muche as these thynges dooe require lesse studie, than the mainteynyng of erronious and diuellisshe opinions: wherfore the knowlage thereof is muche more dangerous: And yet the knowlage bothe of the one and the other isnright expedient, sens in euery thyng it is as necessarie to aforesee what shall brynge damage unto us, as contrarie wise what mought be founden good and commodious. As well in this parte as in the histories and fables, I haue sette out the computation of tyme call Chronographie, wherein it appereth, howe longe the persones were either before the incarnation of Christe, or howe longe after. Also I haue declared the ancient cynes, weightes, and measures, conferryng them with those, whiche be surrent and usuall amonge us. I haue planted in proverbes, called Adagia, suche as be founden in latin authours, with their exposicions. Also the propre termes belongyng to phisike andurgerie, and other diuers greke woordes, whiche be usurped of latine authours. In this fourme I haue finished this



warke, to the glory of almightie god, and the no littell profite (I truste) of all englishemen, whiche are and shall be desyrous of doctrine, whiche I shulde neuer haue enterprised, nor haue brought to conclusion, had I not ben inflamed by the comforte receiued of your roiall maiestie. By this it appereth, that the benignitee of principall gouernours, extended to them a more greater spirite, wherby their wittes and courages dooe appere more abundant. Witnesses therof be the great numbres of wonderfull learned men, and moste valiant and politike capitaynes, whiche were in the tymes of great Alexander, Octavian, Titus, Traiane, Hadriane, bothe Antonines, and Alexander Seuerus, moste noble emperours, of whom diuers by them were aduanced to dignitees, many enriched, none unrewarded. And truely in this your gravis realme there is a great nombre studiously inclined to learnyng, prouoked as well by your gravis moste noble example, whiche haue shewed your selfe not onely studious in holie scripture, but also to be notably learned, and to haue an excellent iudgement in al kyndes of doctrine, as also your bishops and chaplaines of honour, men famous in learnyng. And by suche woordes as your highnesse hath openly spoken in comfortyng and also commandyng yonge gentilmen to embrace good letters, and to be occupied in readyng good authours: there be not a fewe yonge men of the state of the temporaltee, by an honeste emulation dooe endeouour them to be founden in larnyng woorthie to receiue like fruites of your gravis benignitee, as the state of the clergie hath dooen hitherto, wherof diuers haue ben right woorthy to haue it. But whan bothe your temporaltee and clergie dooe flourishe in doctrine, as (your highnesse procedyng to the setting up of good lectures with liberall salaries) it is likely to happen right shortly: than this realme chrstened in temperate ayre, and abundance of all thynges, whiche the necessitee of mans nature requireth: so in all partes of honour and suretee shall it surmount al other countreys, your Maiestee gouernyng, whom almightie God hath abundantly endowed with the principall giftes of grace, nature, and fortune. Finally maie it like your moste roiall Maiestee to receiue this my simple labour and studie, whiche I haue eftsones dedicate unto your highnesse, with like benignitee as you receiued my first edicion, whiche neither in diligence, nor in abundance of matter and sentence, is in any wise to be hereto compared. And if I maie perceiue your highnesse to be pleased with this fourme of exercise, God geuyng me helthe, and by your gravis assistance and fauoure, liuyng in quietnesse and out of necessitee, I intende to imploye the reste of my tyme in suche studie, as your Maiestee shall haue cause to take no lesse thankfully, than if I serued your highnesse in other affaires, wherin shulde be





much more trauaile of bodie: Suche truste and assured iudgement I haue in your gravis moste excellent wisdom, whiche is the onely botreux of my welthe and comforte, like as it is to al England the principall bulwarke. I hertily besече God to augment your highnesse in all partes of felicitee."

#### Later Editions

1545; 1552; 1559. (The last two editions were edited and enlarged by Thomas Cooper.)

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### THE DEFENCE OF GOOD WOMEN

(1540)

#### Title-page

"The De- / fence of / Good / women, deuised and / made  
by Sir Tho / mas Elyot / knyght. / Anno. M.D. XL.V."

#### Colophon

"Londini in aedibus Tho- / mae Bertheleti typis / impress./  
Cum privilegio ad impri / mendum solum."

#### Subject

A debate of the qualities of women. Significant in connection with Renaissance interest in education of women. Length: ii and 31 leaves, or 66 pages.

#### Extracts

##### The Argument

"A contention between two gentlemen, the one named Caninius, the other Candidus. Caninius, like a cur, at women's conditions is always barking, but Candidus, which may be interpreted, benign or gentle, judgeth ever well, and reproveth but seldom. Between them two, the estimation of womankind cometh in question. After long disputation, wherein Candidus (as reason is) hath the pre-eminence, at the last for a perfect conclusion, Queen Zenobia (which lived about the year after the Incarnation



of Christ 274, the noble Aurelian being Emperor of Rome), by the example of her life, confirmeth his arguments, and also vanquisheth the obstinate mind of froward Caninius, and so endeth the matter."\*

\* Taken from F. Watson's reprint of this piece in his book, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women, 1912.

### Later Editions

1912 (F. Watson, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women.)

\* \* \* \*

## THE IMAGE OF GOVERNANCE

(1540)

### Title-page

"The Image / of Governance / compiled of the ac= / tes  
and sentences / notable, of the moste no= / ble Emperour  
Ale= / xander Seuerus, / late transla= / ted out / of /  
Greke into Englyshe, by syr / Thomas Eliot knight, /  
in the fauour of / Bobilitie. / Anno. M.D. XLIII."

### Colophon

"Londini / In officina Thomae Bertheleti / typis impress./  
Cum privilegio ad imprimen- / dum solum. / Anno. M.D.XL."

### Subject

Another book of advice to rulers. Length: viii and 104 leaves, or 224 pages.

Extracts (There was no preface in 1540)

### The Preface (1541)

"To al the nobilitie of this flouryshynge  
royalme of Englande, Thomas Elyot knyght  
desyreth increase of vertue and honour.

"As i late vvas serching among my bokes, to finde



some argument, in the readinge wherof I mought recreate my spyrites, beinge almoste fatigate with the longe study aboute the correctinge and ampliange of my Dictionary, of Latin and Englishe, I hapned to fynde certeyne quaires of paper, which I had writen about. ix. yeres passed: wherin were contayned the actes and sentences notable, of the moste noble emperour Alexander, for his wysedome and grauity callid Seuerus, which boke was first writen in the greke tung by his secretary named Eucolpius, and by good chaunce was lente unto me by a gentille man of Naples called Pudericus. In reading wherof I was maruaylously rauished, and as it hath ben euer myn appetite, I wisshed that it had been publisshed in such a tunge, as mo men mought understande it. Wherfore with all diligence I endeuored my selfe whiles I had leysour, to translate it into englishe: all be it I coulde not so exactly performe myn enterprise, as I mought haue done, if the owner had not importunately called for his boke, wherby I was constrained to leue some part of the wark untranslated: which I made by, as well as I coulde, with somme other Autours, as wel latines as grekis. hauing this boke in my hande I remembred, that in my boke named the Gouvernour, I promised to write a boke of the forme of good gouernance: And for as moch as in this boke was expressed of gouernance so perfite an ymage, I supposed, that I shuld sufficiently discharge my selfe of my promise, if I dyd nowe publishe this boke, whiche (except I be moche deceyued) shall minister to the wyse readers both pleasure and profite. Than did I eftsones peruse it, and with more exact diligence conforme the style therof with the phrase of our englishe, desiringe more to make it playne to all readers, than to flourishe it with ouer moch eloquence. which boke I do dedicate unto you noble lordis, gentil knightes, and other in the state of honour or worship, as beinge moste redy to be aduanced to gouernance under your Prince: so that your vertues be correspondent unto your fortunes. Yet am I not ignorant that diuerse there be, which do not thankfully esteme my labours, dispraysinge my studies as vayne and unprofitable, sayinge in derision, that I haue nothing wonne therby, but the name onely of a maker of bokes, and that I sette the trees, but the printer eateth the fruite. In dede al though disdaine & enuy do cause them to speke it, yet will I not deny, but that they saye truly: for yf I wold haue employed my study about the increace of my priuate commodity, which I haue spent in wrytinge of bokes for others necessity, few men doubt (I suppose) that do knowe me, but that I shulde haue attayned or this tyme to haue ben moche more welthy, & in respect of the worlde in a more estimation. But to excuse me of folly, I will professe without arrogance, that whan I consydered, that kunninge contynueeth when fortune flytteth,



hauinge also rynging alway in myn eare, the terrible checke that the good maister in the gospell gaue to his ydel seruante, for hidinge his money in a clowte, and not disposinge it for his maisters aduantage, those two wordes, Serue nequam, so sterid my spirites, that it caused me to take more regarde to my last rekning, than to any riches or worldly promotion. And all thoughte I do neither dyspute nor expounde holy scripture, yet in suche warkes as I haue and intend to sette forth, my poore talent shall be, God willinge, in such wise bestowed, that no mannes conscience shalbe therewith offended, my boke called the Gouvernour, instructunge men in suche vertues as shalbe expediēt for them, which shal haue authority in a wele publike. The Doctrinal of princis, which are but the counsayles of wyse Isocrates, inducinge into noble mens wittes honest opinions. The Education of children, whiche also I translated oute of the wise Plutarche, making men and women, which will folow those rules, to be wel worthy to be fathers and mothers. The litel Pasquill although he be mery and playne, teching as well seruantes how to be faythfull unto their maisters, as also masters how to be circum-spect in espying of flaterars. Semblably thoffice of a good coucellour, with magnanimity or good courage in tyme of aduersity, may be apparātly founden in my boke called, Of the knowlege belonge to a wise man. In reding the sermon of saynt Cyprian by me translated, the deuout reder shal fynd no litle comfort in plagis or calamities. The banket of Sapiēce is not fastidiouse, and in tittle rome shewith out of holy scripture many wise sentences. The Castel of Helth being truly rad, shal longe preserue men (being some phisicions neuer so angry) frō perillouse siknes. My little boke callid the defece of good women, not only confōdeth villainous report, but also teachith good wiues to know well their duesties. My Dictionary declaringe latyne by englishe, by that tyme that I haue performed it, shall not only serue for children, as men haue excepted it, but also shall be commo-iouse for them which perchaunce be well lerned. And this present boke, whiche I haue named the Image of gouernaunce, shall be to all them which wil reade it sincerely, a very true paterne, wherby they may shape all their proceedinges. And in none of these warkes I dare undertake, a man shall finde any sentence against the cōmandments of god, the trewe catholyke faythe, or occasion to sterve men to wanton deuises. Wherefore I trust unto god, myn account shall of hym be fauorably accepted: all though some ingrate persons with ille reporte or mockes requite yll my labours: to whom I will only recyte this mery fable of Esope, written by Maximus Planudes.

" A good woman had an husband, who wold be oftē tymes





drunken, wherwith she beinge ashamed, and diuisinge by what meane she might cause hym to leue that horrible vice, at the laste whan he was a slepe, she caried hym unto the charnell house, wherin were put the bones of deade men, and leuing him lyinge there, she made faste the dore, and departed. And whan she thought that he was wakyng, she takynge with her brede and meate, retourned to the charnell house and knocked at the dore, her housband fayntly asked who knocked there, the good woman answered, I which haue brought meate with me for the dead men, peace sayd her husbände, thou increacest my payne in speakinge of meate, bringe me some drinke I beseche the. That hering the good woman, alas sayd she that euer I was borne, for this vyce gotten by custome, my housbände hath made it a naturall habyte, which will neuer forsake hym.

"This fable nedeth no declaration: for euery man may perceyue what it meneth. Moreouer many being ignorant of good letters, do uniuersally reprove all them that be studiouse in lerninge, alleginge this commune prouerbe, The grettest clarkes be not the wisest men: affirming, that they be founden negligent about their owne profit, and consequently unapt to the ministration of thinges of waighty importance. How untrue their allegations be, & on how feble a foundation they are buylded, it shall in this wise appere unto wise men. First the sayd prouerb semeth by him which lacked lerninge, to be deuised sens that he preferreth ignorance before kunninge: whiche arrogance declared hym to be a very foole, and unwitty: consideringe that by knowlege most chiefly, a mā excelleth al other mortall creatures, and therby is moste like unto god. And lerninge is none other thinge, but a aggregation of many mens sentences & actes to the augmentation of knowlege. And if som lerned men do neglect their temporal commodities, it is for one of these causes: eyther by cause they haue ben so desirouse of knowlege, and in respect therof estemed so lytle all other pleasures, that they thought the tyme all to lytle, which they dyd spend in it, holdinge them selves with that which serued for natures necessitie right wel cōtēted, or els like as the grehound that was sent to great Alexander by the king of Albania, whā there were shewed unto him seuerally a gret hart, a bore, & a beare, he vouched not saulf to loke on them, but lay still wagging his tayle: thā was there brought forth a great lyon, to whom he dyd arise softly, and setting up his bristles, & shewing his tethe, fleing to the lyon, lightly strangled him. Afterwarde a puyssante olyfante beinge brought to the place, the grehounds semyng to reioyce at the greatnesse of the beste, roused him, and after two or thre questinges, he lepte to the great olyphant, and after a long fight ouerthrew him and kyllled him. So I dout not but that som men there be liu-



ing, in whom is such courage, that in thinges of lytle importance may seme to be negligent, disdayninge as it were to spend their wittes or labours about the pelfry of riches: which beinge ones called to authority ioyned with liberty, wil inforce them selves to make their ministratiōs noble & excellent. Suche were Solon, Aristides, and Phocion in Athenes, Publicola, Fabritius, Curius, and Cato Aticensis at Rome, whose lyues I wold to god were in Englyshe, and the lyke be nowe lyuynge, yf they were fought for.

"And for the confutation of that pestiferous opiniō [that] gret lerned men be unapt to the ministration of thinges of waighty importāce, this shalbe sufficient. First as I late said lerning is the augmētatiō of knowledge, which the more that it is, the more maye be perceiued what shalbe most necessary in thinges which happen in cōsultation. & the more that it is perceyued, the better and more aptly may it be ministred and executed. Examples we haue of Moyses, who beinge excellently lerned in the most dyffuse doctrines of the Egyptians & Ethiopians, was by almighty god chosen to guide and rule his people, which were innumerable & moste froward of nature: and with what wonderfull wisdom and pacience dyd he gouerne them by the space of. xi. yeres, beinge without any cities, townes, or any certain possessiōs? Who were better leders of armies than great Alexander, Scipio, Lucullus, & Cesar, whiche were men al of great lerning? who better handled matters of waighty importāce, than Octauian called Augustus, Hadrian, Marcus Antoninus, Alexander, Seuerus, & of late yeres Carolus Magnus, al emperours of Rome, and men very studiouse in all noble sciences? Whan was there a better consul thā Tully, or a better senator thā Cato called Aticensis? And to retourne home to our owne countray, and wherof we our selves may be witnesses, howe moche hath it profited unto this realme, that it nowe hath a kynge our souerayne lorde kyng HENRY theyght exactly well lerned? Hath not he therby onely sifted out detestable heresies, late mingled amonge the corne of his faythfull subiectes, and caused moche of the chaffe to be throwen in the fyre? Also hipocrisy and vayne superstition to be cleane banysshed? wherof I doubt not, but that there shalbe or it be longe, a more ample remembrance, to his most noble and immortal renome? This well considered, let men ceasse their sayde foolishe opinion, and holde them content with their owne ignorance, and for my part, say what they liste, I wil durynge my life, be in this wise occupied, in bestowing my talent, beinge satisfie<sup>d</sup>, with the contentynge of suche men as ye be, adourned with vertue, the most precieuse garment of very nobylitie.

"But now to thintent that ye if ye list, may attaynin



estimable profit by the redynge of this litle warke, I do exhort you, that redynge it distinctly and studiously, first ye marke diligently, howe by the lasciuious and remisse education of Varius Heliogabalus, he grewe to be a person most monstrouse in liuinge, also howe not withstandinge, that he not onely suffered, but also prouoked the people to lyue in a moste beastely lycence: yet horrible synne at the last became to all men fastidious and lothsome. Wherefore they slewe in most miserable facion him that consumed infinite treasour in supportinge their lewdenes. Than shall ye note diligently, howe moche it profytted to Alexander, who nexte dydde succede hym, that he had so wise and vertuose a mother, and that he was brought up among so wyse counsailours. Also the maner of his meruaylouse procedinges, in reformynge a publike weale, left unto hym corrupted so shamefully, wherin was more difficulty, than to begynne it, where neuer was any. Marke also his moste noble qualittes, and howe they were tempered. Moreouer the forme of his speakinge, and howe as he grew in yeres, so waxed it more mature and seryouse, sometyme aboundaunt, otherwhyles shorte and compendious, as oportunitie serued. In his actes and decrees, what Iustice and prudence were in them contayned, what seueritie he used, sparinge neither hym selfe, nor his frendes or mynysters. Finally, all his lyfe is a wonderfull myrrour, if it be truely radde and iustely considered, whiche if ys do often loke on, ye maye therby attyre your selfe in suche facion, as men shall therefore haue you in more fauour and honour, than if ye hadde on you as riche a garmente as the greate Turke hathe any. Onely for my good wyll in translatynge it for you, I desyre your gentyll report and assystence ageynst them, whiche do hate all thynges, whyche please not their fantasies."

Later Editions

1544; 1549; 1556.

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A PRESERVATIVE AGAYNSTE DETH

(1545)

Title-page

"A Pre- / serva- / tive A- / gaynste / deth. / Londini /



An. M.D. XLV."

Colophon

"Imprinted at London / in Fletestrete by Thomas Berthelet, printer to the kynnes highnes, the seconde / of July, the yere of / our lorde. M. / DXLV. / Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum."

Subject

A sermon on sin, immortality, etc., using Biblical quotations freely and documenting these in the margin. Length: iv and 30 leaves, or 68 pages. (In the same volume with the Preservative is published a 19-leaf work of Erasmus, A Comfortable exhortacion agaynst the chaunces of death, this piece being dated "1553" on its title-page.)

Extracts

"Thomas Elyot knyght to his worshypfull frende, syr Edward North knight chancellor of the court of the augmentacions of the reuenues of the kinges crowne, desireth well to doo.

"The lyttell boke whyche I sent to you at the begynnyng of lent last passed, a smal requittal of your gentyll benefites, I haue caused nowe to be printed: as well for a testimonie of the herty loue, whiche I doo beare toward you, and that beinge printed it maie the longer endure with you and others, as also that my priuate gyft maie be beneficiall to many men, whiche without disdaine or enuy will oftentymes reade it. I knowe well, some men will thinke, and saie also perchaunce, that I spende my witte vainely. for it is the office of priestes for to preache, and that it dothe not pertaine to a knyght, muche lesse to a sheriffe, to write, specially of suche holy matters. Also that in wrytyng to you, whiche are continually occupied about the kynges maiesties busynesse, I lose all my labour: considering that beside the tymes of meale and of slepe (whiche also be littell and scarce, as I well haue perceyued) there remaineth with you none opportunitie to reade any bokes of englyshe or latin. Truly I confesse, that priestes ought to preache, and that it is their propre office. And yet no christen man is excluded to gyue good counsaile in that whiche pertaineth to the lawes and commandementes of almighty god. And he that can do it, and will not (though he be no priest) I dout not but he shall make a straiter reknyng for hydynge his talent. A knyght hath receiued that honour





not onely to defende with the swerde Christis faith and his propre countrey, agaynst them, whiche impugneth the one or enuadeth the other: but also, and that most chiefly, by the meane of his dignitie (if that be imployed where it shuld be, and esteemed as it ought to be ) he shuld more effectually with his learnyng and witte assayle vice and errour, moste pernicious ennemies to christen men, hauinge therunto for his sworde and speare his tunge and his penne. And where for the more reuerēce due to the order of priesthode, it is most congruent and sitting, that preaching in commune assemblies, be reserved onely to that ministracion, yet where a knyght or other man, not being of a lite estimacion, hath lernyng ioyned with moderate discrecion, yf he being zelouse of vertue, and meued only by charitie, wolde fayne haue other men to remembre their state and condicion, and according to their dueties, to loue god, and to feare his terrible sentence, what lawe or raison should lette hym, with an humble spirite and uncorrupted intent, to set furth in writing or print, that whiche shal be commodious to many men? And if he be a knight, or in other authoritie (for the rarenesse of learnynge founden in suche men) the warke shal be muche the better imbraced, and of the moo men desyred. Also for asmuche as I am a sheriffe, I think my selfe the more bounden to bee thus occupied. For sens it pertaineth to myn office, and also the lawes of this realme doo compell me to punishe transgressours: Howe muche more is it my duetie, to doo the best that I can, by all studye and meanes to withdrawe men from transgressing the lawes and commaundementes of god, whiche beinge diligently and truely obserued, the occasions of transgressyng of temporall lawes should be clerely excluded?

"More ouer as often as I doo consyder the temporall punyshementes, and doo abhorre the sharpenesse of theim, I do reuolue in my mynde, what horrible paynes are prepared for theim, whome the sonne of god shall condemne at his generall iugement, to the whiche, temporall tormentes being compared, doo seme but a shadow: here begynne I to feare, not for my selfe onely, but alsoo for other, which either in transgressing goddis lawes, or neglectynge our dueties do prouoke his wrath daily by displeasyng hym. Wherefore as wel for myn owne erudicion, as for the remembrance of other men, I haue gathered together out of holy scripture this litle treatise: whiche often tymes radde and kept in remembraunce, shall be a preservative against death euerlasting. And as touching your oportunitie in the receiuyng it, althoughe your ministracion be necessary, yet remembre the wordes, whiche our sauour Christ spake unto Martha. What I meane therby, by redyng and digestyng that place, whiche is in the tenthe chapitre of Luke, ye



shal easily perceiue, without an expositour. At the least waie either by day or by night Martha shall finde oportunitie to sitte downe by her sister, if not, she shall find but litle thanke for all her good housewyfery. If Martha ministrynge unto Christ temporally, had no more thanke for hir labor, what thanke shal we loke fore, whiche alwaie be occupied about thynges that be worldly? thereby seekyng onely our temporall commoditie. But yet in our dayly exercise we maie oftentimes ioyne the two systers together, as well by secrete thankes gyuen to god for his sundry benefittes, as by frequent meditacion of our laste daie. Wherunto we shall fynde occasion, as often as we do here the bell ryng at the death or terment of any man, or here reported of pestilence or warre, thynkyng theim than to be the trumpettes of death, whiche do call us to reknyng. And as touchyng the readyng of this litle woorke, if ye do rede it in the masse while, for lacke of tyme more conuenient, I dare undertake, god will bee therwith nothyng offended: but ye being therwith stered the more deuoutly to serue hym, he shall receyue it of you as a good praier, sens that meditacion and praier be but one thing in their nature. And yet meditacion is the more constant. For in praier the mynde is oftentimes wandring, and thinketh least on that, whiche by the tunge is expressed. In this wise dooinge, ye shall not lacke oportunitie to reade ouer this boke, whiche shall not seme longe unto suche as I thinke that ye be, that is to saie, in whome witte ouerfloweth not grace, but gyueth place to her. Finally by readyng thereof I trust unto god we bothe shall receyue eche comforte of other, as well in this present worlde, as in the worlde to come. whiche many mo men haue writen of, than haue truely used as they should doo. Thus I committe you to god, whom I moste hertily praie, to keepe you alwaie in his fauour long to continue."

Later Editions

(None)

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A LETTER FROM ELYOT TO THOMAS CROMWELL

"Master Secretary, In my right humble maner I have me recommended unto you. Sir, albeit it were my duty to await on you, desiring to be perfectly instructed in the effectual understanding of the Kings most gracious plesure, contained in his Graces proclamation concerning seditious books; now, forasmuch as I have been very sick, and yet am not intyre recovered, I am constrained to importune you with these my homely letters. Which considering my necessity and sincere meaning, I trust wil not be fastidious unto you: whom I have alway accounted one of my chosen friends, for the similitude of our studies: which undoubtedly is the most perfect foundation of amity.

"Sir, as ye know, I have been ever desirous to read many books, especially concerning humanity and moral philosophy: and therfore of such studies I have a competent number. But concerning h. Scripture I have very few. For in questionists I never delighted. Unsavory glosses and comments I ever abhorred. The boasters and advauncers of the pompous authority of the Bishop of Rome I never esteemed. But after that, by much and serious reading, I had apprehended a judgment or estimation of things, I did anon smel out their corrupt affection, and beheld with scornefull eyes the sundry abusions of their authorities, adorned with a licentious and dissolute form of living. Of the which, as wel in them, as in the universal state of the Clergy, I have oftentimes wished a necessary reformation. Wherof hath happened no little contention betwixt me and such persons as ye have thought that I have especially favoured; even as ye also did for some laudable qualities; which we supposed to be in them. But neither they mought persuade me to approve that, which both my faith and reason condemned, nor I mought dissuade them from the excusing of that, which al the world abhorred. Which obstinacy of both parts relented the great affection betwixt us, and withdrew our familiarity repayd.

"As touching such books as be now prohibited, containing the Bp. of Romes authority; some indeed I have, joyned with divers other works in one great volume or two at the most, which I have found leisure to read. Notwithstanding, if it be the Kings plesure and yours, that I shal bring or send them, I wil do it right gladly. As for the warks of John Fisher, I never had any of them to my knowledg, except one little sermon: which about eight or nine years past was translated into Latine by Mr. Pace. And for that cause I bought it, more than for the author or matter. But where it is, I am not sure. For, in good faith, I never read it but once since I bought it. Finally, if your plesure be to have that and the other, forasmuch as my books be in sundry houses



of mine own, and far asunder, I heartily pray you, that I may have convenient respite to repair thither after my perfect recovery. And as I would that God should help me, I will make diligent search; and such as I shal find, savouring any thing against the Kings plesure, I wil put them in readiness, either to be brought to you, or to be cut out of the volume, where they be joyned with other, as yee shal advise me, after that I have certified to you the titles of them.

"Wherefore, Sir, I heartily beseech you, for the sincere love that I have towards you, to advertise me plainly (ye lacking plesure to write) either by Mr. Petre Vannes, or Mr. Augustine; they writing what your counsel and advise is herein, which to my power I wil follow. And, good Mr. Secretary, consider, that from the time of our first acquaintance, which began of a mutual benevolence, ye never knew in me froward opinion or dissimulation. Perchance natural simplicity, not discretely ordered, mought cause men to suspect I favoured hypocrisy, superstition, and vanity; notwithstanding, if ye mought se my thoughts, as God doth, ye should find a reformer of those things, and not a favourer, if I mought that I would. And that I desire no less, that my Sovereign Pord should prosper and be exalted in honor, than any servant that he hath, as Christ knoweth. Which send to you abundance of his grace, with long life. Written at Cambridg on the vigil of S. Thomas.

"Your unfeignedly,

"Elyott."\*

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\* Taken from J. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, 1822, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p.230.





## APPENDIX B

### Orthography

In the Preface to this paper it has been said that Elyot's orthographical practices were the same as those of his contemporaries, and that those practices have been amply handled in histories of the language. Below the reader will find a review of the most significant orthographical phenomena found in Elyot. There is much overlapping among the categories into which the words and principles have been here divided, and the lists given are not presented as complete; the illustrations do, however, adequately represent Elyot's orthographical habits.

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Silent e: There is no standard or even approach to consistency with regard to the unstressed e, the one which descended from the final e of Middle English. At the end of a word it may or may not occur, and the same word may be spelled both ways in one line. It occurs internally, at a point where the modern reader is unaccustomed to see it, only in compound words the first member of which could have had the final e as a single word: sickenesse (G. II.xiv.194). Such words as wherof, therof, however, practically always lack the second e. It causes con-



fusion as to vowel length in costes 'coasts' (G. I.xxiv.102), haste 'hast' (G. III.iii.203), lothelynes (G. III.xxv. 284).

u and y: u is both vocalic and consonantal in all positions except initial, where y is always consonantal and u vocalic, except in such rare cases—probably oversights or misprints— as vnlawfully (Dict.).

A number of phenomena come under the heading "Latinization", or "re-Latinization", a term which describes the sixteenth century movement toward recasting English words of French origin on the mold of the Latin originals. This led to two sorts of temporary confusion. First, there were some words of non-Latin origin which were mistakenly so molded; second, the words so tampered with were sometimes re-Latinized and sometimes not, so that there was much wavering and uncertainty about their accepted forms. Elyot came along in the middle of this movement, and it is another strong indication that the nature of his "improvement" was to be only lexical and syntactical that, in spite of his strong leaning toward Latin, his spelling presents a hodge-podge of old (French influenced) and new (re-Latinized) forms. Immediately following are some examples.

-tion and -cion: The Middle English -cion is very frequent in Elyot, but the more strictly Latin -tion dominates in his usage. The Knowlege has, apparently, about an equal number of each spelling, and some-



times (as at pages 160-70 and thereabouts in the Gouverneur) the -cion form is used almost exclusively for a time. The same word may be spelled either way.

-ct and -t: Elyot has counterfayting (G. I.xx.91), counterfaicted (G. II.iv.129), and counterfaite (G. II.xiv.191). He writes faictes 'feats' (G.I.iv.20), faict (G. I.viii.30), and feate (G. I.viii.30). There is traicte 'treat' (G. I.xv.70 and II.vii.147) but trayted (G. III.vi.218). We find also vitayle (G. III.vi.213).<sup>1</sup> In these examples, except one, there are both French and re-Latinized spellings. Faict had even in Old French regained its c, from Latin factum. Vitayle (from L. victualia), the only occurrence of the word, is the French form.

b and v: Words formed on Latin scribo have both b and v in Elyot, the former being more frequent. He has circumscribed (G. I.xiv.68), describe, described, and discribed (G. Proh., I.x.36, I.xi.43); but discriued and discriue (G. I.x.38 and II.xxii.262). capitayne: From L. capitanus. The form from French without the second syllable appeared earlier and more frequently in English before Elyot.

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<sup>1</sup> For auctoritie, auctor, etc., see autorite below.



autorite: Elyot has autor (G. I.ix.53) autours (G.Proh.); autorite— the most frequent spelling— (G. I. i.2), auctorite (G. I.i.5), auctoritie (G. I.v. 22), authorite (G. I.ii.7, v.22; this is the only spelling used in Chapters i and ii), authoritee (DP., pas.), authorytie (G. III.xxiii. 271). auctoritee and authoritee (DP., fol. 5a). Here he has most often omitted the c and used the French in that particular; in point of the t, which today is th, his spelling is chiefly after the Latin form, which was also most common in English before him.<sup>2</sup> One word possibly influenced by these is authentic (L.authenticus, Gr. ἀὐθεντικός), which appears in Elyot as autentike, probably by analogy with autor, autorite.

adv- and av-: In most cases Latin adv- became French av- and thence English av-. This general development has resulted in a false formation in advance, which came not from Latin ad- but from ab- + ante. The same mistake is in Elyot's advault, which, however, has not survived to the present day. Avenge is from ad-vindicare; adventure from ad-venire; advisedly from ad-videre; advocate from advocatus. Elyot has the follow-

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<sup>2</sup> The NED explains the th as a scribal variant in French literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and gives c. 1550 as the date of its appearance in England.





ing spellings: auanced (G. I.i.2), aduanced (G. I.ix.34), aduaunced (G. I.ix.32), and aduancement (G. I.viii.29 and elsewhere); auaunte (G. I.xv.71), aduaunt (G. I.iv.20), aduanted (G. I.xx.91). Auenged (G. II.ix.149), aduenge (G. II.ix.152); auenture (G. I.xvii.77), perauenture (G. II.xv.71), aduenture (G. I.vi.25, and frequently in the last part of the Gouvernour), misaduenture (G. II.xii.181), adventurous (DGW. 226). Aduerse (G. III.iv.207), a different word from averse and always having the d in English. Aduysedly (G. I.xxii.97), always with d in Elyot, though frequent in English without it. Advocate (DGW. 222).

Vocalization of l: In some words Elyot uses both the original Latin l and also the French vocalized forms. He has assaulted (G. I.xvii.76), which before had been used almost entirely in the vocalized form. Beaultie (G. III.xiv.240 and elsewhere) retains the l of L. bellus, but this l vocalizes in the more common beautie (as at G. III.xviii.251). There is default and defaulte (G. II.xii.185 and II.xiv.193), but defautes (G. II.xiv.193). Witsaufed and wytsaufed (BS. Pref., and CH. Pref., 1541) and sauegarde (G. I.xviii.80) have vocalization; while the l appears in saulfely



(G. II.ix.155) and saulfe garde (G. I.xvii.78).  
-eipt and -eit: concept, conceipte (G. I.xiii.61, I.  
 xiii.58); deceipte and disceipte (G. I.xiii.58),  
deceitfull (G. I.x.37). The Latin etymons of  
 both these words have p, and have contributed  
 later words to English which have retained the  
p.

sh and ss: Palatization of French ss is the rule in Elyot,  
 as in vanissheth (G. I.xiii.61) stablissed (G.  
 I.xiii.61), flourissed (G. I.xii.51). Banyssed  
 (G. I.ii.7) is exceptional; even in it the sh  
 is old, and the word occurs in Elyot also as  
banisshe (G. I.ii.12, I.xiii.54).

-ive and -if(e): The French confusion with final -if(e)  
 and -ive (from L. -ivus) carries over through  
 Elyot. The y is frequent, but the f is also,  
 as in actife (G. I.xvii.74), captife (G. II.v.  
 131), excessife (G. III.viii.225— with exces-  
sive at G. II.viii.148), intentifly (G. I.xx.  
 89— here and in lyfely even with a suffix),  
lyfely (Cyp. 1-4), prerogatife (G. I.i.4).

Some other words exhibiting strong French— and not  
 Latin— influence are uncurtaise (Cyp.); Sophemes (G.III.  
 vi.212), which must be a phonetic rendering of the French  
 pronunciation, for Elyot also has sophismes (G. III.xi.  
 234); maruaile (G. I.xvii.76), the second syllable, des-



ained because it was unstressed to become weakened, retaining the French spelling; and langage (G. I.i.2), strictly French, though the semi-Latinized form language also appears at CH. Pref., 1541.

The omission of d in sowne 'sound' (G. I.ii.9) and expoune (G. I.xv.70) may be accounted for as a mistaken effort to distinguish between a weak preterite and an infinitive; expounded, a preterite, occurs at G. I.x.37. Expounde, as an infinitive does, however, occur on the same page with expoune above, and the latter seems more likely a mistake due to slovenly pronunciation. Excerped (G. II.i.116) may be analogous with expounded, or it may have been taken from the Latin infinitive instead of the past participle (the latter was used by Wolsey in 1536, and excerpt is now the accepted form).

Hebrew influenced Elyot's spelling in several instances. Gabaon 'Gibeon' (G. III.vi.230) and at another place Gaba 'Gibeah' follow the Septuagint, which has Γαβαὼν and Γαβὰ . Also Helias 'Elijah' (G. II.ix.150), for which the Septuagint has Ἡλίας .<sup>3</sup>

d and t: The following four words have d consistently

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3 One of the orders to the translators of the King James Bible was that names of prophets, holy writers, and other names in the text should be retained as nearly as possible in accordance with their vulgar usage. Hence, Catholics said "Elias", "Eliseus", and "Sion"; the Protestants, "Elijah", "Elisha", and "Zion." See Croft's footnotes at the places indicated.



now where, at Elyot's time, there was a wavering between d and t: ambassadour (G. I.xviii.82) was chiefly -ator or -iator before him and chiefly -dor and -dour after him. His disdained once becomes distayned (G. II.xii.179). He writes con-  
temned (G. I.vii.25), condemned (G. II.xii.179), condempnyng (G. II.vii.146), contempned (G. III.  
ii.199), contempte (K. 11), contentuously (K.71), and condemnation (G. II.ix.150). Rent 'rend' occurs in G. Proh.

There is equally as much inconsistency in the representation of vowel sounds.

Final -e, -ie, -ee, -y: These four spellings had already served a long time for the French ending -e, and in Elyot we notice only a slight preference for the -ie. These forms are used interchangeably, even in plurals.

an and aun: Used interchangeably. Wyld<sup>4</sup> attributes the diphthongized form to the influence of lower classes, who did not know French and hence did not nasalize an.

o and ou: Interchangeable in such combinations as -ion,  
-ioun; -or, -our.<sup>5</sup>

i and y: Interchangeable as vowels, as scyence, thei,

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4 See A Short History of English, p184.

5 For explanation of the diphthong, see an, aun above.





and they (CH. Pref., 1541), and synifyenge (G. III.xxii.267), along with the many i-spellings, demonstrate.

ar and er: There is the usual confusion, not yet cleared up. Elyot has parayle 'peril' (G. II.xiv.192), stereth 'stirreth' (G. I.ix.33), parsons 'persons' and parceiue (G. II.xi.164), perse 'pierce' (G. I.iv.19), tergate 'target' (G. I.xvii.76), parsonages 'personages' (G. II.xii.167), parswaded (G. II.xii.167), parchaunce (G. II.xii.174).

ea, ai, and i: French ai, as in raison, was giving way to ea. Treason (G. I.ii.14), but wayuer 'weaver' (G. I.i.6). The [i] sound is represented by i in spices 'species' (G. III.i.195).

Northern i in inflectional endings: Atheniensis, plural, (G. I.ii.7, etc.), hartis (G. II.v.133), adherentis (G. II.v.137), ponderid (K. 89). The e in these forms is the more common, however.

Intrusive h: In habilitie and unhabill (G. II.xi.166, III.vi.214); habundance (G. II.vii.141) and superhabundant (G. III.xi.234), while there is abundaunce (G. II.xii.175, and pas.), and ab<sup>6</sup>hominable (G. III.x.231). Hit (G. I.iii.16, iv.

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6 Based on a false etymology, ab-homine, and retained in Med. Latin, Old French, and in English through the seventeenth century. Holofernes (Love's Labor's Lost, V, i, 21 and 26) abhorred the "rackers of orthography" who said "abhominable" for "abominable".



20) is a left-over from Middle English. In prē-heminence (DGW. Arg.) the h avoids hiatus.

d for th: In gadred (G. I.xiv.64 and pas.) and wheder (G. I.xv.71).

c for s: As in Middle English c was sometimes written for Old English s:<sup>7</sup> cessions (G. I.i.2), discention (G. I.ii.11).

Syncopy and epenthesis: dispergement 'disparagement' (G. II.xii.177), nources<sup>8</sup> (EC. Table), gentilly (G. I.vii.26), messangers<sup>9</sup> (G. III.x.231).

-ll endings: The common practice of doubling the l in words derived from Latin -alis stems carries over in maternall (CH. Pref., 1541), spirituall (G. I.iv.19), universall (G. Proh.).

b for p: Libërdes ( ), lybarde ( ) 'leo-pard', optained (G. I.ii.12).

ph for f: Phrensy (DGW. 216) and frensie (K. 17), in which word ph is historical.

In addition to the general phenomena discussed and illustrated thus far, a few words are worth noting for one or another spelling which they demonstrate. Accompt (G. Proh.), the old form, is less frequent in Elyot than account (G. I.xi.42), the new. Adulteries (DGW. 217) ap-

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<sup>7</sup> This was like the French practice. See Wyld, p. 153.

<sup>8</sup> As against the older, and more usual in Elyot, nourise (G. I.iv.19) and norisery (G. I.iv.19).

<sup>9</sup> As against Elyot's usual messenger (G. I.vii.26, etc.)



pears also with the French dropping of d and vocalization of l in auoutrie (G. I.xix.36), and with one of these losses restored in aduoutry (G. I.xx.91). Solempne (G. I. xix.85), whose development is unsolved,<sup>10</sup> is also spelled solemne (G. I.xx.39); compare also solemnitie (G. I.xx.39). Mastresse (G. III.iii.202) was just yielding to mistress about Elyot's time. Eschew (the metathesized form) is more frequently spelled with an x, as in exchuyng (G. III. ix.227). Complection (G. I.iv.19) has ct where x frequently occurs. And, besides all these, atchieved (G. II. ix. 151), alledge (G. I.xiv.65), all moste (G. I.xiii.60) and almooste (G. I.xv.70), bankette (G. II.ii.124), auncetours (G. II.iv.128), condutis (G. I.xvi.72), burgine (G. I.iv. 19), decerne (G. I.iv.19), erth quae (G. II.ix.153) and erthquakes (Cyp. 1-4), iugementes (G. I.ii.10), intituled (G. I.xi.48), holle 'whole' (G. I.ii.7), remeued (G. III. xxi.259), renoume (G. Proh.)— these and many other words exhibit forms which are interesting but which are entirely characteristic of early sixteenth century spelling.

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<sup>10</sup> Analogy with contempt may be one explanation of the p.



## APPENDIX C

### Elyot's Neologisms

#### I (1)

Following is a list of the words used by Elyot which were introduced into the English language between 1500 and the date of Elyot's first usage. The date and author, or document, given are the first entry in the NED for the word concerned. Definitions are given only for words which were old in the language but which acquired after 1500 the meaning attributed to them by Elyot. Square brackets indicate that the original use of the word was in a meaning different from that of Elyot; such a word is to be found in Section I (3) b of this Appendix.

abettours	G. III.xxvii.288.	1514( <u>Fitzherbert</u> )
abiecte	G. II.xiv.190. 'dejected'	1520( <u>Myrroure of oure Ladye</u> )
accomodate	G. I.x.36. 'accommodated'	1525(Wolsey)
accumulate	G. I.xii.52.	1529(Wolsey)
actyuytie	G. I.xviii.82.	1530(Palsgrave)
aduertisementes	G. I.xi.45. 'instruction'	1523(Skelton)
affiaunced	[1523 (Skelton) 'promised solemnly']	
aggrauatyng	[1530 (Palsgrave) 'impeding, loading']	
aggregate	G. III.xxiii.272.	1509 (Hawes)
alienate	[1513 (Bradshaw) 'transfer to another']	
allected	G. I.xiv.68.	1528 (More)





alleuiate	G. I.xi.46.	1528 (Paynell) 'rendered more tolerable'
ambiguous	[1528 (More)	'doubtful']
ampliate	[1513 (Bradshaw)	the finite form]
apish	[1532 (More)	'befitting an ape, foolish']
aporcionate	G. I.iii.17	1523 (Fitzherbert)
apprehende	[1513 (Douglas)	'to take possession of']
appropriatynge	[1528 (Perkins)	ecclesiastical term]
attemptate	[1524 (St. Papers Henry VIII)	'criminal attempt, attack']
attempted	G. III.xxiv.277	1513 (Bradshaw)
attribute	G. III.ii.198.	1530 (Pal sgrave)
babbler <sup>1</sup>	K. 37.	1530 (Pal sgrave)
barbarouse <sup>2</sup>	G. I.xiv.62.	1526 (Pilg.Perf.)
blemysshe <sup>3</sup>	G. II.vi.137.	1526 (Pilg.Perf.) 'moral defect'
burdaynnus	K. 35.	1529 (More)
circumscribed	DGW. 217.	1529 (More)
communicate	Cyp. Pref.	1526 (Pilg.Perf.) 'share, impart information'
commutations	G. III.vii.223.	About Elyot's time
conformable	R. 5.	1511 (Colet)
confutation	I. Pref.	1526 (Pilg.Perf.)
contende	G. I.xvii.74.	1514 (Barclay)

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1 The verb 'to babble' dates from the fourteenth century.

2 In uses pertaining to people this word dates from 1538 (Starkey).

3 As 'physical defect', 1535 (Coverdale). All other meanings later.



contexte	G. III.xxv.282.	1526 (Pilg.Perf.) 'connected structure of writing'
continencie <sup>4</sup>	G. III.xvii.246.	1526 (Pilg.Perf.) 'self-restraint in sexual indulgence'
continuyng	G. I. vii.25.	1515 (Barclay) 'during'
correspondent	I. Pref.	1533 (Berners) 'answering to in mutual adaption'
corroboration	G. III.xxv. 283.	1529 (More)
cruciate	G. II.xii.177.	1504 (Atkinson) adj. pple.
cuppyng	CH. 55a.	1519 (Horman)
deambulations	G. I.xvi.73.	1529 (Skelton)
declamation	G. I.xiv.65.	1523 (Skelton)
dedicate	G. Proh.	1530 (Palsgrave)
delicatenes	Cyp. 1-4.	1530 (Palsgrave)
derection	G. III.iii.204.	1509 (Hawes) 'direction of conduct, guidance'
desiste <sup>5</sup>	G. II.vi.140.	1530 (Palsgrave) 'to cease'
detestation	G. I.vi.25.	1526 (Pilg.Perf.)
dexteritee	Dict. Pref.	1527 (Chron.Calais)
discommodies	G. I.xi.47.	1513 (More) 'quality of being discommodious'
discourage	G. I.i.6.	1500 ( <u>Three Kings'</u> sb. <u>Sons</u> )
discrepant	G. I.xvii.78.	1524
disposition	G. I.xiv.65.	1509 (Hawes) As a rhetorical term: 'the arrangement of the parts of an argument.'

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4 As 'self-restraint in general' this word dates from 1547-64 (Bauldwin).

5 As 'to discontinue', a transitive verb, this word dates from 1509 (Barclay).



dissarde <sup>6</sup>	K. 17.	1502 ( <u>Priv. Purse</u> <u>Exp. Eliz. of York</u> )
dissemble <sup>7</sup>	G. II.ii.122.	Early Sixt. Century.
dissemblars	G. II.v.132.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
dissuade	G. I.xiii.56.	1513 (More)
dissuasion	G.I.xiii.58.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
diuulgate	G. II.vii.146.	1530 (Palsgrave)
ducke	pple. K. 10. 'bow', vb.	1530 (Palsgrave)
elected	G. II.i.116. 'picked out, chosen'	1513 (Bradshaw)
elegant <sup>8</sup>	G. I.x.35. Of literary style.	1528 (More)
Eloquution	G. I.xiv.66. A law term.	1509 (Hawes)
enteruwe	G. II.xi.164.	1514 (Dk. Suffolk)
equivalent	K. 19. 'having equal or corresponding import'	1529 (More)
estimation	G. I.xvii.75. 'condition of being esteemed'	1530 (Palsgrave)
excepteth	G. II.i.118. 'leaves out'	1530 (Palsgrave)
excogitate	G. I.xxiii.100. vb.	1530 (H. Doves)
exhaust	G. II.vi.138. 'exhausted'	1523 (Wolsey)
extenuate	[1529 (More) 'estimate at a low figure']	
factions	G. I.ii.13.	1509 (Fisher)
forwardnes	G. I.viii.30.	1523 (Berners)

---

6 This word is spelled dyssarde at K. 20.

7 This word appears as dissimuled at G. II.xii.169.

8 This word pertaining to attire dates from 1485 (Digby Myst.), and as 'tall of stature' from 1513 (Douglas).



fulmination	Dict. Ded.	1502 ( <u>Ord. Crysten Men</u> )
grauitie	G. I.iv.19.	1509 (Barclay)
hau <sup>9</sup> iour	G. I.iii.17	1503 (Hawes)
historicall	G III.xxv.282.	1513 (Bradshaw)
iauelyns	G. I.xviii.32.	1513
illected	G. I.vii.27.	1529 (J. Fish)
imynent	G. I.ii.13.	1528 (Gardiner)
implacable	G. II.vi.138.	1522 (More)
importance	G. I.i.1.	1508 (Wolsey)
importunately	G. I.viii.31. 'inopportunely, untimely'	1529 (More)
inconstancy	DGW. 216.	1526 ( <u>Pilg. Perf.</u> )
inexplicable	G. I.x.39.	1502 ( <u>Ord. Crysten Men</u> )
infallible	G. II.xiii.188. 'unfailing' (of things)	1526 ( <u>Pilg. Perf.</u> )
infuded	G. III.xxiii.269.	1526 ( <u>Pilg. Perf.</u> )
iniustely	G. III.xix.254.	1502 ( <u>Od. Crysten Men</u> )
introductions	G. I.v.22. 'preliminary statements or treatises'	1529 (More)
inuention	G. I.xi.41. As a rhetorical term: 'the finding out or selection of topics to be treated'	1509 (Hawes)
inuestigate	G. I.xiv.62.	1510 (Barclay)

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9 See the NED for an account of the confusion of this word and its meanings with the word behavior. The word hauour remained in the language through the eighteenth century.





lamenteth	G. II.vii.145.	1530 (Palsgrave)
Mesaraice	CH. 55a. 'one of the mesaraic veins'	1528 (Paynel)
Mirebalenes	CH. 73b. 'an astringent fruit'	1530 (Palsgrave)
misticall	G. I.xiii.57. <u>&amp; Coventry Corpus Chr. Pl.</u>	1500 ( <u>Chester Pl.</u> )
monuments	G. I.viii.28. 'memorials, testimonials'	1530 (Tindale)
mote	G. I.xiv.65. 'to find fault'	1513 (Douglas)
10 Mumpsimus	G. III.xiv.239. 'obstinacy'	1530 (Tindale)
naturall	G. Proh. As applied to a country or a language	1508 (Fisher)
neglecteth	G. I.ii.7.	1529 (More)
obsessed	[1503 (Ellis) 'to sit down before, besiege']	
oracion	EC. 'formal speech, dignified language'	1502 (Atkinson)
penaltie	K. 12.	1512 ( <u>Act 4 Hen. VIII</u> )
pernicious	G. I.xviii.34.	1521 (Fisher)
persuade	G. I.iv.20.	1513 (More)
perversely	DGW. 213.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
phrase	Cyp. Pref. 'manner or style of expression; group of words expressing a single notion'	1530 (Palsgrave)
11 pike thanke	G. II.vii.147.	1500-20 (Dunbar)
pleasauntnesse	G. III.xi.234.	1530 (Palsgrave)

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10 See the NED and Croft II, 289, footnote "a", for the interesting anecdote connected with the origin of this word.

11 See the NED and Croft II, 87, footnote "a", for the origin and meanings of this word.



prepence	[1509 (Hawes)]	
prepensed	G. I.xxv.105. adj. pple.	1530-1 ( <u>Act 22 Hen. VIII</u> )
procreacion	EC. Pref. 'offspring, that which is procreated'	1533-4 ( <u>Act 25 Hen. VIII</u> )
promptnes	G. I.xiii.58.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
publike	G. I.i.1. Pertaining to people as a whole	1513 (Bradshaw)
rasshenesse	G. III.xxi.258.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
rauisshe mentes	G. III.iii.205. 'forcible abduction of women'	1529 (S. Fish)
rebecke	G. I.xx.91.	1509 (Hawes)
recant	Dict. Ded. 'withdraw, renounce'	1535 (Lyndesay)
redoubying	G. I.vii.26.	1522 ( <u>State Papers Henry VIII</u> )
repetition	G. I.i.1.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
requited	G. I.xv.70.	1529 (Wolsey)
roundes	G. I.xx.93. 'dances in which performers form, or go in, a circle'	1513 (Douglas)
12 royle	G. I.xvii.75. 'inferior, spiritless horse'	1523 (Skelton)
satiated	DGW. 219. As a finite verb	1532 (Du Wes)
sences		1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
seuerall	G. I.xxvii.114. 'various, a number of different'	1509 (Hawes)
seueritie	G. I.ii.3.	1530 (Wolsey)

---

12 The origin of this word is obscure. It continued in good usage until late in the eighteenth century.



superioritie	G. I.ii.8.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
supernaturall	G. III.xxiii.269.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
13 surnamed	G. I.xii.50. 'given such-and-such a name'	1512 ( <u>Act 4 Hen. VIII</u> )
sussitate	G. II.iii.126.	1528 ( <u>Imp. Wolsey</u> )
tractable	G. I.xxi.95.	1502 (Atkinson)
transgresse	G. II.vii.146.	1526 (Tindale)
triumph	G. I.xii.58.	1508 (Dunbar)
undeclared	G. I.xv.70. adj.pple.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
undoubtedly	G. I.xvii.73. Early sixteenth word. To introduce a sentence, as at this place in Elyot, it dates from 1521.	1521 (Wolsey)
unfaynedly	Cyp. Pref.	1526 ( <u>Pilg.Perf.</u> )
unhandsome	G. III.xix.256.	1530 (Pal sgrave)
unprovided for	DGW. 239.	1523 (Berners)
valuation	[1529 (More) 'action of valuing']	
vehemently	G. I.x.40.	1513 (Fabyan)
14 yorning	G. I.xviii.82. As of hounds: 'to cry out eagerly'	1523 (Skelton)
zelouse	PD. Pref.	1526 (Tindale)

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13 The noun surname is much older than the apparent participle. Our present signification of surname dates from 1548 (Hall).

14 There is a full discussion of this word in Croft's Glossary.



I (2)

The list below is divided into three groups. Under "a" are words for which the first quotation in the NED is the same as the quotation given here from Elyot; under "b" are those whose appearance in Elyot antedates the first quotation in the NED (the date of the latter being given before the quotation from Elyot; under "c" are those for which the first quotation in the NED is later by only a few pages in the same work than the quotation given here from Elyot. The words in the last group have no priority in date of appearance in print; if they were to be included in either of the other sections, they would be put in "a" rather than in "b".

An asterisk marks those words which were obsolete by 1700; two asterisks mark those which were never used after Elyot. All words so marked will be found listed in Section I (4) of this Appendix and discussed in the corresponding section of Chapter IV. Comments in addition to the above are relegated to footnotes. For the dates of the various items in Elyot's bibliography, the reader is referred to Chapter I, pages

a

abbreviate (sb.) 'an abridgement' L.  
 "The epistles of ... the apostles do contayne ... orations, ... as it were an abbreviate, called of the grekes and latines, Epitoma." G. III.xxv.282.

abusifly F.  
 "Athenes and other cities of Grece, ... concluded to lyue as it were in a commualtie, whiche abusifly they called equalitie, ..." G. I.ii.12.

acceleration L.  
 "beholdinge ... the acceleration or haste to his confusion, ..." G. II.v.134.

\*achieuaunces 'achievements' OF.  
 "hit [King David's prowess and valor] maye sufficiently appere to them that wylle rede his noble actes and achieuaunces in the booke before remembred." G. III.xxiii.269.





- acumen L.  
 "the chiefe sharpnesse of witte called in latine  
acumen,..." G. I. xv. 71.
- adulte L. (perh. F.)  
 "Firste, suche persones beinge nowe adulte, that is to  
 saye, passed theyr childehode as well in maners as in  
 yeres,..." G. II. i. 116.
- adulterateth<sup>1</sup> 'to corrupt (things)'.  
 L.  
 "but also he that counterfaiteth his seale, or adul-  
 terateth his coyne with more base metall, shall be  
 iuged to die as a traytour." G. II. xiv. 191.
- adumbrations L. 'shade'.  
 "The kynge reasoned with hym of lines, adumbrations,  
 proportions, or other like thinges pertainyng to im-  
 agery..." G. III. xxvi. 285.
- adustion 'state of being L.  
 heated', 'burning'.  
 "Moche incendiynge or adustion of bloude." CH. I (1539)  
 11b.  
 "The lyver in hete distempered hath moche blacke choler  
 toward age by adustion of red choler." CH. (1541) 6.
- \* aggregateurs 'adherents'.  
 "Nor I dyd omitte to read the long Canones of Auicenna,  
 the commentaries of Auerroys, the practises of Isake,  
 Haliabbas, Rasis, Mesue, and also of the more parte  
 of them whiche were their aggregatours and folowers."  
 CH. 2nd Proh.
- \* allectyue (sb.) 'enticement, L.  
 allurement'.  
 "And also there is no better allectyue to noble wyttes  
 than to induce them in to a contention with their in-  
 ferieur companions." G. I. v. 21.
- allurynges (vbl. sb.)  
 "it behoueth, with most pleasaunt allurynges, to in-  
 still in them /children/ swete maners and vertuose  
 custome." G. I. iv. 20.
- annecteth 'annexes'. L.  
 "he preferreth nat before daunsing or ioyneth therto  
 any viciouse exercise, but annecteth it with tillynge  
 and diggyng of the erthe,..." G. I. xix. 86.

---

<sup>1</sup> This word was applied to persons from 1595.



\*  
 applicate (vb.) L.  
 "Verely the knowlege of Justyce is nat so difficile ... to be attayned unto by man ..., if he wplde nat willingly abandone the excellencie of his propre nature, and folissshely applicate him selfe to the nature of creatures unreasonable ..." G. III. iii. 201.

articulately 'with articulate voice'.  
 "or, at the leste way, that they [nurses] speke none englisshe but that which is cleane, polite, perfectly and articulately pronounced ..." G. I. v. 23.

Assentatours  
 "Other there be, whiche in a more honest terme may be called Assentatours or folowers." G. II. xiv. 190.

barberously  
 "we may beholde diuers yonge gentill men, who ... speake the moste barberously that they can imagine." G. I. xiii. 54.

\*  
 bargettes 'rustic dances'. The editors of the NED conjecture that this is a wrong form and that the author is trying to use the old word bargeret.  
 "In stede of these [classic dances] we haue nowe base daunsis, bargettes, pauions, turgions, and roundes." G. I. xx. 93.

\*  
 blenchars 'person or thing employed to frighten away'. OE.  
 "the good husbände, ... setteth up cloughtes or threades, whiche some call shailes, some blenchars, or other like shewes to feare away byrdes, ..." G. I. xxiii. 99.

bounteously  
 "Ye may (sayd the kynge) bounteously rewarde me, if ye lende me the yonge man that daunsed before your maiestie." G. I. xx. 92.

bucolikes 'pastoral poems'. L.  
 Gr. 'herdsman'.  
 "For what thinge can be more familiar than his [Vergil's] bucolikes?" G. I. x. 38.



circumscription                    'laying down limits of L. 'to draw  
   meaning, definition, de-           a line  
   scription.'                           around.'

"But what very fortitude is he [Tulli] more plainly  
doth declare afterwarde in a more larger circumscrip-  
tion..." G. III. ix. 229.

\* commentaries<sup>2</sup>                    'collection of notes           L.  
   memoranda.'<sup>3</sup>

"... in the commentaries of Julius Cesar, whiche he  
made of his exploiture in Fraunce and Brytayne,..."  
G. I. xi. 46.

commutative (justice)                    L.<sup>4</sup>  
"Justice ... is ... in two kyndes or spices. The one  
is named iustyce distributive, ... the other is called  
commutative or by exchange, and of Aristotellit is  
named in Greeke Diorthotice which is in englysshe cor-  
rective." G. III. i. 196.

\* comprobate                    'prove, confirm'.           L.  
"For as well that sentence [one from Socrates] as all  
other before rehersed, do comprobate with holy scrip-  
ture that god is the fountayne of Sapience, ..." G. III. xxiii. 274.

concinittie                    'harmony, congruity'.           L. 'skill-  
   fully put  
   together'.  
"In euery of the said daunsis, there was a concinittie  
of meuing the foote and body, ..." G. I. xx. 93.

\* concoct                    'digested (in the           L. 'to  
   mind)'.                           boil to-  
                             gether'.  
"Being radd diligently and well concoct ... it will  
not seeme very tedious." Ded. Letter to Cromwell in  
the CH.

concocteth                    'digest  
"For cold maketh appetite, but naturall heate con-  
cocteth or boyleth." CH. ii.

---

2 As a 'treatise' or an 'exposition of a subject' this  
word dates from 1538 (Leland).

3 This meaning became obsolete after 1538 (Starkey).

4 On this term the NED has the following comment: "a  
term used by Aquinas and others as equivalent to Aristotle's  
, i.e., 'the  
justice which is corrective in transactions between man and  
man'. [From commutatio, which in the old Latin version of  
Aristotle's Ethics (c. 1250) is put to represent the Gr.



- confederated (themselves) L.  
 "their Titus and Gisippus willes and appetites daily more and more so confederated them selves, that is semed none other, whan their names were declared, but that they hadde onely chaunged their places, ..." G. II. xii. 167.
- \* confins 'neighbors'. L.  
 "Sir, said the king, I haue diuers confins and neighbours that be of sondry languages and maners, ..." G. I. xx. 92.
- conglutinate (adj.-pple.)<sup>5</sup> L. 'to glue'.  
 "All these attempts at definition to gether conglutinate and effectually executed maketh a perfecte definicion of iustyce." G. III. i. 195.
- constitutour L. 'to constitute'.  
 "faithe is the fundation of Justyce, whiche is the chiefe constitutour and maker of a publike weale, ..." G. III. vii. 223.
- Cordax 'indecent dance of old Gr. Greek comedy'.  
 "dissolute motions and wanton countenaunces in that whiche was called Cordax, and pertained to comedies, ..." G. I. xx. 93.
- \*\* decerpt (1) 'pulled to pieces, divided' L. 'to tear to pieces'.  
 "O howe this most noble Isle of the worlde was decerpt and rent in pieces: ..." G. I. ii. 14.
- \* decerpt (2) 'extracted, excerpted' L. 'to pluck off'.  
 "Mannes soule, beinge decerpt or taken of the portion of diuinitie called Mens, ..." G. III. xxiv. 276.
- \*\* defalcate (pple) Med. L.  
 "yet be nat these in any parte defalcate of their con-digne praises." G. II. x. 158.
- demulced L. 'to stroke down', 'to soothe'.  
 "Saturne was eftsones demulced and appaysed, ..." G. I, xx. 87.

---

<sup>5</sup> The present stem — as in the case of a word like confuse (whose present stem was not yet in Johnson's time) — dates from 1546 (Langley).





- \* depopulate (pple) L.  
 "the kynge of Mede had depopulate the countrey,..."  
 G. I. ii. 10.
- \* despeched 'dispatch' OF.  
 "they despeched the multitude from them, ..." G. II. ii. 123.
- disfurnished  
 (See refurnished)
- disproufe 'refutation'  
 "they do diligently obserue the rules of Confirmation and Confutation, wherin resteth proufe and disproufe, ..." G. I.xiv. 66.
- distemperature 'inclemency'. Med. L.  
 "can nat alwayes be sure without some experience in the temperature or distemperature of the regions,..." G. III. xxvi. 285.
- duskyshnes  
 "Fumositie ascendynge up into the head ... causeth ... duskyshnes of ignorance." CH. (1541) 52a.
- elegancie F. L.  
 'to select'.  
 "it is best <sup>a</sup> to begynne with Titus Liuius, ... for his elegancie of writinge,..." G. I. xi. 45.
- Encyclopedia 'general course of L. Gr.  
 instruction'.  
 "a heape of all maner of lernyng: whiche of some is called the worlde of science, of other the circle of doctrine, whiche is in one worde of greke Encyclopedia: ..." G. I. xiii. 56
- enunciatiue 'predicative; declaratory'. L. 'to announce out'.  
 "yet be their warkes compacte in fourme of narrations, whiche by oratours be called enunciatiue ..." G. III. xxv. 282.
- equabilite 'quality of being L. 'Equable'.  
 equable or uniform'.  
 "moderation in tolleration of fortune of euerye sorte, whiche of Tulli is called equabilite,..." G. III. xxi. 259.
- erogate (inf.) 'expend' L. 'to pay out'.  
 "Aristotle defineth a liberal man to be he whiche doth erogate accordinge to the rate of his substance and as oportunitie hapneth." G. II. ix. 148.



- \*  
 erogation 'expenditure'. L. 'to pay out'.  
 "some thinke suche maner of erogation nat to be worthy the name of liberalitie." G. II. viii. 148.
- eructation 'belching, voiding wind from the stomach'. L. 'to belch, emit'.  
 "The savour of his meate by eructation ascendeth." CH. 42b. 44a.
- excogitate (pple) L.  
 "actis of counsaile from time to time haue bene excogitate,..." G. II. vii. 146.
- excogitation 'thinking out, reflection'. L.  
 "Wherefore to consyderation pertayneth excogitation and auysement, to prouydence prouisyon and execution." G. I. xxiii. 99.
- 6  
Exordium 'beginning of anything, partic. a discourse'. L. 'to begin'.  
 "onely they lacke pleasaunt fourme of begynnyng, called in latine Exordium,..." G. I. xiv. 66
- exploiture 'act of achieving'  
 "in the commentaries of Julius Cesar, whiche had made of his exploiture in Fraunce and Brytayne,..." G. I. xi. 46.
- \*  
 formalitie 'agreement with laws of form.'. L. 'formal'.  
 "than appoynte they ... in what formalitie they shulde be sette,..." G. I. xiv. 65.
- \*  
 fucate 'artificially colored; hence falsified, disguised'. L. 'to paint, to rouge'.  
 "For in vertue may be nothing fucate or counterfayte." G. III. iv. 209.
- glosses 'superficial lustre' Dy. 'a glowing, gleaming'.  
 "Cantharis nel Cantharida ... a greene worme shynyng with a glosse of golde." NED

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6 Elyot's use is of the word as Latin, of course.



harmonically

"I meane sterres and planettes, and their motions harmonically,..." G. I. xx. 89.

historien

F.

"Amonge the Romanes Quintus Fabius for this qualitie is soueraignely extolled amonge historiens;" G. I. xxiv. 102.

humecteth

'moistens, wet'.

L. 'moist, wet'.

"wyne, ... humecteth the body, ..." G. I. xi. 49.

\*

illicebrous

'alluring, enticing'.

L. 'charm, lure'.

"he had rather se the harpe of Achilles, ... nat the illicebrous dilectations of Venus,..." G. I. vii. 26.

implacabilitie

'quality or condition of being implacable'.

L.

"what calamitie hapned to the mooste noble citie of Rome by the implacabilitie or wrath insaciabie of these two capitaines,..." G. II. vi. 138.

incending

(vbl. sb.)

L. 'to set on fire'

"Moche incendynge or adustion of blonde." CH. I (1539) 11b.

incongruent

L.

"it shall nat be incongruent to our mater to shewe..." G. I. xiii. 57.

inflexions

'action of bending, or inflecting'.

L. 'to inflect'.

"coulede imagine the inflexions of the serpente,..." G. I. xx. 88.

infraunchised

'admit to freedom'.

OF.

"thou in a priuate iugement were ouer comen of a poore man but late infraunchised;" G. II. vii. 144.

infrequent

'uncommon, unaccustomed'.

L. 'infrequent'.

"I wyll ...reassemble, ... mater as well apte to my purpose as also newe or at the lest waies infrequent, ..." G. I. xxi. 94.

7

ingenerate

'inborn, innate'.

L. to generate'.

"in the soules of men is ingenerate a leme of science, ..." G. III. xxiii. 273.



8

ingourgitations

L. 'to pour  
in', 'to glut  
or gorge oneself'.

"Alway I shall exhorte tutours ... of noble chyl dren,  
that they suffre them nat to use ingourgitations of  
meate or drinke, ..." G. I. xi. 48.

inimitable

'peerless, incapable  
of being imitated'.

L. 'inimitable'.

"for the natiue and inimitable eloquence in expressing  
the counsailes, ... he semeth to put all other writers  
of like mater to silence." G. I. xxiii. 101.

\*\*\*

instructrice

formed on anal-  
ogy with F. *fam.*  
*in-rice*.

"Knowlege also, as a perfeyte instructrice and mastresse,  
..." G. III. iii. 202.

involuntary

L.

"that parte of iustyce is contayned in intermedlynge,  
and somtyme is voluntary, somtyme involuntary inter-  
medlynge." G. III. i. 196.

\*\*

leuigate<sup>9</sup>

'lightened'

L. 'light'.

"his labours beinge leuigate and made more tollerable,  
..." G. I. iii. 16.

loyall

F. OF. L.

"my loyal harte and diligent endeuour ..."  
G. Proheme.

mockingly

'in a mocking  
manner'.

"Nasute, wyttyly, mockyngly." Dict.

moderatrice

L.

"temperance, whiche is the moderatrice ... of all mo-  
tions of the minde, ..." G. II. ix. 149.

mouldre

'waste away, crumble'. OE.

"For if it be brokle, and will mouldre a way with  
euery showre of raine, the buyldynge may nat contynewe,  
..." G. III. xix. 253.

---

8 The verb came in 1570.

9 Levigation since 1471 (Ripley).





- 10  
obfuscate (ppl. adj.) 'darkened, L. 'to darken, 'obscure'.  
"the vertues beyng in a cruell persone be ...  
obfuscate or hyd,..." G. II. vii. 141.
- 11  
obtestations 'solemn adjuration, L. 'to obtest'.  
entreaty, or supplication'.  
"With whiche wordes, obtestations, and teares of Gypsippus, Titus constrayned, ... brought furthe with great difficultie his wordes in this wyse."  
G. II. xii. 169.
- officiall L. 'office'.  
"grosse meate ... maketh the flesshe more firme, and the officiall members more stronge." CH. 16a-17b.
- \*\* 12  
operatrice F.  
"hyghe sapience whiche is the operatrice of all thynges."  
G. III. xxiii. 271.
- \* 13  
ostent (vb) 'to show, display'. L. 'to show off'.  
"there be some that by dissimulation can ostent or shewe a highe grauitie, ..." G. II. xiv. 192.
- pauions 'grave and stately dance'. F.  
"we haue nowe base daunsis, barginettes, pauions, turgions, and roundes." G. I. xx. 93.
- perfume  
"Suffis ..., to perfume". Dict.
- perfumed F., L. 'to smoke'.  
"perfumed with tedious sauours of the metalles by him yoten." G. I. viii. 31.
- perysshed (ppl. adj.)  
"Perditus ..., loste, perysshed, withoute recouerie, out of hope." Dict.
- perswaded (ppl. adj.)  
"Impulsus, perswaded, prouoked, inforced." Dict.

---

10 The verb came later.

11 Obtest came in 1548 (Hall).

12 Operatress 1841 (Fraser's Magazine)- only reference.  
Operatrix 1792 (Chron. in Ann. Reg. 21/1)- only

reference.

13 Sh. is late —1563-87 (Foxe).



- \* 14  
petites 'junior schoolboy' Fr.  
"some of those Rabines ... be as who sayeth petites  
and unethe lettered, ..." G. III. xxv. 283.
- \*  
pristinate 'pristine' L.  
"there appered to be in hym the pristinate authorite  
and maiestie of a kyng,..." G. I. ii. 13.
- \* 15  
prouecte 'advanced' L. 'to carry  
forward, ad-  
vance'.  
"the faictes and gesture, of them that be prouecte in  
yeres." G. I. iv. 20.
- 16  
Rabines 'Rabbis' Med. L.  
"some of those Rabines ... be as who sayeth petites  
and unethe lettered, ..." G. III. xxv. 283.
- 17  
radycate (inf.) L. 'to take  
root'.  
"Yet often remembrance to them of their astate may  
happen to radycate in theyr hartes intollerable pride,  
..." G. I. iv. 20.
- \*  
recantynge (vbl. sh.)  
"Palinodia ..., nowe of some men called a recantynge."  
Dict.
- receptories L.  
"The humours ... fylleth and extendeth the receptories  
of the bodye, as the stomacke, the vaynes, and bowelles."  
CH. (1541) 51b.
- refurnisshed O.F.  
"yet by his most excellent witte, ... refurnisshed his  
dominions, and repayred his manours;" G. I. xxiv. 103.
- \*\*  
reprinse 'a step in dancing' F.  
"Comunely nexte after sengles in daunsing is a re-  
prinse, whiche is one mouing only, puttynge backe the  
ryght fote to his felowe." G. I. xxiv. 101.
- reprocheable F.  
"whiche shal nat do in his presence any reprocheable  
acte, or speake any uncleane worde or othe,2..."  
G. I. iv. 20.

---

14 The word is old in adj. usage.

15 Verb is later.

16 NED explains the intrusive n on grounds that the pl.  
of the Hebrew word was \*rabbin.

17 Elyot uses as transitive. radicor was only intran-  
sitive in Latin.



reprochfully

"Contumeliose, spitefully, reprochfully." Dict.

rosiall

'roseate'

L.

"And beholding the rosiall colour, which was wont to be in his visage, ..." G. II. xii. 169.

rusticitie

F. or L.

"in them was neyther folisshenes nor yet rusticitie, ..." G. III. xvii. 249.

\*\*

shailes

'scarecrow'

"setteth up cloughtes or thredes, whiche some call shailes, some blenchars, or other like shewes, to feare away byrdes, ..." G. I. xxiii. 99.

skosers

'an exchanger or  
barterer, horsedealer

"Virgile leaueth farre behynde hum all breders, hakney-men, and skosers." G. I. x. 38.

societie<sup>18</sup>

'company, compan-  
ionship'

O.F.

L.

"societie called company, ..." G. III. iii. 201

\*

squynce<sup>19</sup>

"Cynanche, or syckenes called the squynce, whiche is in the throte and iawes." Dict.

temperature(1)

'act of being tem-  
pered, or mixed —  
mixture'.

L. 'the  
process or  
result of  
tempering'.

"By the increase or diminution of any of them /the four humours/ in quantitie or qualytie, ouer or vnder their natural assignement, inequall temperature commeth into the body." CH (1541) 8.

temperature(2)

'character of substance  
determined by proportion  
of the 4 qualities'.

"Of the temperature of meates to be receyued." CH (1539)17.

"Drythe ... happeneth in the substance of the body, either by to moche labour, or by the proper temperature of age." 34b.

---

18 Other senses, as of organized groups, are later.

19 In Elyot's Dictionary we find synanche /Latinized form of / translated "a syckenesse in the throte calle the squynce". But in CH (fol. 74, ed. 1561) he spells it quinces.



temperature(3)<sup>20</sup> 'temperate condition  
of weather of climate'.  
"the temperature or distemperature of the regions,  
..."G.III. xxvi. 285.

tisiknesse M.E.  
"Tisiknesse or shortnesse of breth." CH (1539) 82.

tollerate L. 'to  
bear, en-  
dure'.  
"to tollerate those thinges whiche do seme bytter or  
greuous..." G. III. xiv. 239.

Tractabilitie L.  
"wilfull opinion and Tractabilitie (which is to be  
shortly persuaded and meued) makethe Constance a  
vertue;" G. I. xxi. 95.

\* turgions 'a lively dance', F.  
"we haue nowe base daunsis, bargettes, paulions, tur-  
gions, and roundes." G. I. xx. 93.

vnlaufullly  
\* "Illegitimi, vnlaufullly begotten, bastardes." Dict.

vendicate 'claim for oneself'. L. 'vindi-  
cate'.  
"His body so pertayneth unto him, that none other  
without his consent may vendicate therein any pro-  
pretie." G. III. iiii. 202.

#### ADDENDA

refurnisshed OF.  
"yet by his moste excellent witte, ... refurnisshed  
his dominions, and repayred his manours; ..."  
G. I.xxiv.103.

disfurnisshed  
"the emperour should be disfurnisshed of seruantes."  
G II.vii.142.





inflatynge (pple.-adj.)

"Meates inflatyng or wyndye: Beanes, Lupines,..."  
CH., 1541, 10b.

ingenerate

"the vertue ingenerate in the childe ..." G. I.xx.87.

mediocritie

'middle course in L.  
action, temperance'

"I wil now brefely declare in what exercise ... maye  
be mooste founde of that mediocritie, ..." G. I.xxvii.112.

---



b

abstersife 'purging, cleansing' F., ult.  
fr. L. 'to sprinkle'

1533 (Elyot, CH.27)

"this disease requireth sharp medicines as those,  
which be mordicatif or biting, abstersife or clen-  
singe, ..." K. 70.

adapte F.

1611 (Florio)

"In this fourme may a wise and circumspecte tutor  
adapte the pleasant science of musike to a necessary  
and laudable purpose." G. I.vii.28.

\*adminiculation 'prop, support' L.

1670 (Hacket)

"a poure mannes sonne, onely by his naturall witte,  
without other adminiculation or aide, neuer or sel-  
dome may attayne to the semblable." G. I.iii.17.

agreablenesse 1557 (Recorde)

"I remembred nat the commune astate of our nature,  
ne the agreablenesse, or (as I mought saye) the  
unitie of our two appetites, ..." G. II.xii.171.

aggregation L.

1547 (Boorde)

"And lerninge is none other thinge, but an aggrega-  
tion of many mens sentences and actes to the aug-  
mentation of knowlege." I. Pref.

alternations F. fr. L.

1611 (Cotgrave)

"For no man ... beholdynge ... the disposition  
moste wonderfull sette by diuine prouydence in  
thynges aboue us, aboute us, and undernethe us,  
with the sondry alternations of tyme, wyll denye,  
to be of those thynges one principall ruler and mod-  
eratour, ..." Dict. Ded.

\*ampliatinge (vbl. sb.) 'amplification' L.

1541 (Elyot, I. Pref.)

" ... I ... Beinge almoste fatigate with the longe  
study aboute the correctinge and ampliatinge of  
my Dictionary, ..." I. Pref.

amplification L.

1546 (Langley)

"More ouer the presence of you, whyche are kynges,



do minyster to them that be inferiours unto you,  
an amplication of powers callyd naturall, ..."  
Dict. Ded.

\*analogie                      'likeness; meaning'                      L. &  
Gr. 'equality of  
ratios'. (Already  
in Plato the word  
was used in a trans-  
ferred sense.)

1536 (Tindale)

- " ... noble, whiche signifieth exeellent, and in  
the analogie or signification it is more ample than  
gentill, ..." G. II.iv.127.

animate

L.

1538 (Coverdale)

" ... his Alexander's liberalite emploied on Cher-  
ilus shulde animate or gyue courage to others moche  
better lerned ..." G. Proh.

aptness

1538 (Starkey)

" ... yonge gentill men, who in their infancie  
and childehode were wondred at for their aptness  
to lerning and prompt speakinge of elegant latine,  
... " G. I.xiii.54.

aptitude

'propensity; natural capacity'

1633 (Earl Manch)

" ... in horses and grehoundes an aptitude to renne  
swiftely, ..." G. III.xxiii.273.

arable

L.

1577 (Tusser)

- "Also with one hundrede acres of arable lande, ..."  
G. III.xvii.247.

associatinge

L.

1533 (Bp. Winchester in

Strype Eccl. Mem.)

" ... the associatinge of man and woman in daunsing,  
... was nat begonne without a speciall consideration,  
..." G. I.xxi.94.

blasphemous

L. or direct fr. OF.

1535 (Coverdale)

" ... he Romulus also prohibited that any thing  
shulde be radde or spoken reprocheable or blasphem-  
ous to god." G. III.ii.197.



cautherization

1541 (R. Copland)

" ... this disease requireth sharp medicines as those, which be mordicatif or biting, abstersife or clensing, or perchance cautherization, that is to say, that the place corrupted by skorched with a hotte bournynge yron ..." K. 70.

cautherize

L.

1541 (R. Copland)

"But is his art declared by any thyng ells but by his medicines, or instrumentes wherwith he doth cutte, perse, or cautherize ..." K. 69.

Chronographie

Gr. 'time-record-  
ing, a chronicler'.

1548 (Hall)

" ... I have sette out the computacion of tyme called Chronographie, ..." Dict. Pref. (1545).

\*Conciones

'assemblies'

(See I (3) a, p. )

1533 (Bellenden)

" ... the counsayles and exhortations of capitaines, whiche be called Conciones, ..." G. I.xi.46.

\*concion

'oration before an  
assembly'.

OF. fr. L., a  
shortened form  
of convention.

"Unto whom often tymes ... he made a solemne concion or proposition, calling them his companions." I. 6.

condisciple -

'fellow-disciple'

L.

1554 (T. Martin)

"Xenophon, condisciple of Plato." G. II.ix.154.

\*conference

'comparision'

F. or med. L.

1538 (Elyot, Dict. Pref.)

" ... thynges apt for medicine, growyng in this realme, by conference with most noble authors may be so knowen, that we shal haue lesse nede of thynges brought out of farre countreis, ..." CH. Proh. (1541).

conferre

'compare'

L.

1533 (Frith)

" ... they shall alway be able to serue honourably theyr prince, ... if they conferre al their doctrines to the moste noble studie of morall philosophie, ..." G. I.xiv.69.





\*consulte (1) 'deliberate upon' (with L.  
matter expressed by a clause)  
1553 (T. Wilson)  
" ... people ... shuld reason and consulte in whiche  
places hit were best to resiste or inuade their  
ennemies." G. I.xi.44.

\*consulte (2) In an absolute sense:  
'meditate'.  
1611 (Bible)  
" ... they that consulte for parte of the people  
and neglecte the residue, ..." G. III.xxx.296.

Copie 'plenty' 1 L.  
Not recorded in NED.  
" ... plentie of the tonges called Copie, ..." G. I.x.36.

corroborate (adj.-pple.)<sup>2</sup> L.  
1532 (Thynne)  
" ... where I saye preserued, I intende corrobor-  
ate and defended againe anciaunces." G. III.vii.223.

credite 'truste, faith' F. or Ital.  
1542-5 (Brinklow)  
"But one opinion there is whiche I wyll reherce,  
more for the mery fantasie that therin is contained,  
than for any faithe or credite that is to be giuen  
therto." G. I.xx.88.

cunctator 'tarrier' L. agent sb. fr.  
cunctari 'to delay'.  
1654 (Hammond)  
" ... he Fabius is often tymes called of them  
Fabius cunctator, that is to saye the tariar or  
delayer, ..." G. I.xxiv.102.

deliberate (adj.) L.  
1548 (Hall)  
"deliberate and graue pronunciation, ..." G.II.  
ii.121.

---

1 This word may be a mis-spelling on Elyot's part.  
The word Copia occurs in printed English from 1713 (Addison).

2 The finite system of the verb corroborate dates  
from 1530 (Palsgrave).



- \*descicion 'cutting out or of' F. fr. L.  
 1584 (R. Scott)  
 "the descicion and condemnation of pernicious  
 errours." Dict. Ded.
- Diaphoretice (sb.) 'Having property of L.  
 inducing perspiration'  
 1656 (Ridgley)  
 CH. 6lb.
- \*Diorthotice 'of or pertaining to a Gr.  
 recension of a literary  
 work'  
 1860 (M. Pattison)  
 "of Aristotell it is named in Greeke Diorthotice,  
 whiche is in englysshe correctiue." G. III.i.196.
- displeasauntly 1540-1 (Elyot I. (1556)139b)  
 "Whereunto the sayde emperour displeasauntly answer-  
 ing, ..." G. III.iii.203.
- elegantly 1552 (Huloet)  
 "as well in speakyng elegantly as in doinge val-  
 iauntly, ..." G. I.vi.24.
- <sup>3</sup>  
 eminent 'projecting, prominent, L.  
 particularly in physi-  
 cal senses'  
 1541 (R. Copland)  
 "trees of a more eminent ststure than herbes, ..." G. I.i.4.
- emulation L.  
 1552 (Huloet)  
 "Silius and Lucane, be very expedient to be lerned:  
 for the one setteth out the emulation in qualities  
 and prowesse of two noble and valiant capitaynes,  
 ..." G. I.x.40.
- exacte (adj.) L.  
 1533 (More)  
 "What exacte diligence shulde be in chosinge mais-  
 ters." G. I.ix.32.

---

3 In non-material senses: 1603 (Shaks.)



exactly 'completely, to perfection'  
1533 (Frith)  
"Semblably dyd many other who exactly folowed his  
doctrine." G. III.xxii.264.

\*excerped<sup>4</sup> 'excerpted' L.  
1563-87 (Foxe)  
"these VII articles, ...excerped or gathered ...  
out of holy scripture ..." G. II.i.116.

execrate L.  
1561 (Calvin)  
"execrate and abhorre the intollerable life of tyrantes:  
..." G. I.x.41.

exhausteth L.  
1533 (Elyot, CH. II.vii, 1541, 18b)  
"continually studie without some maner of exercise,  
shortly exhausteth the spirites vitall, ..." G. I.  
xvi.72.

expectation L.  
1538 (Starkey)  
"the chaunces of fortune contrary to mennes expecta-  
tion, ..." G. I.xiii.58.

\*expeditely<sup>5</sup> L.  
1560 (Bacon)  
"more expeditely, and with lasse labour they dyd  
it." G. I.xxvii.114.

expellyng Gerundive use  
1532 (More)  
"sone after the expellyng of Tarquine: ..." G. I.  
ii.13.

exterior L.  
1533 (Elyot, CH. xxiv. (1572) 38b)  
"which estimacion is nat euery where perceyued, but  
by some exterior signe, ..." G. III.ii.200.

exterminate L.  
1541 (Elyot, I. (1549) 146)  
"cause the memorie of them to be utterly extermin-  
ate; ..." G. II.vii.142.

---

4 An obsolete verb formed from infinitive excerpere  
'to pluck out', instead of the participle excerptus. Ex-  
cerpted, 1536 (Wolsey).

5 The adjective and verb expedite came in later  
Sixteenth century and early Seventeenth century. Expedition  
is old.



\*foul-deceived

1549 (Coverdale)

"And herein many be foul-deceived." R. 11.

graue

F.

1549 (Latimer)

"the often repetition of anything of graue or sad importance wyll be tedious to the ..." G. I.i.1.

hierarches

Med.L.frGr.

1574 (Life 70th Archbishop of Canterbury)

"he hath constituted to be in diuers degrees called hierarches." G. I.i.3.

honourelasse

1560 (Phaer)

"... consyderynge also the pryce of the bataile ... whiche is honourelasse or more after the estimation of his prowessse." K. 76.

imbatilmentes

1538 (Leland)

"disposed them aboute the imbatilmentes of his house to make defence; ..." G. II.i.123.

imbecilitie

F. fr. L.

1533 (Frith)

"... if they /readers/ reuolue the imbecilitie of our nature ..." G. I.xvii.75.

inanimate

L.

1563-87 (Foxe)

"Also sens a lyttell herbe, whiche is inanimate, may chaunge pleasure in to payne." K. 60.

instill<sup>6</sup>

L.

1533 (Frith)

"to instill in them swete maners and vertuose custome." G. I.iv.20.

intrappe

OF.

1534 (Barnes)

"where they preuent or intrappe their enemies." G. I.xviii.p.81.

kebuli<sup>7</sup>

Astringent fruit

1555 (Eden)

---

6 Other senses, including literal one, came later.

7 F. chebule, It. chabuli (Pegolotti has, c. 1303,





"Mirabolanes, called kebuli condyte in India."  
CH. 73b.

lymned (pple.-adj.)  
1538 (Elyot, Dict.)  
"And their fyrst letters to be paynted or lymned in  
a pleasaunt maner: ..." G. I.v.21.

8

masticate (pple.) L.  
No record of this use as  
pple.-adj. in NED  
"euery dyshe of this banket ... if they be wel mas-  
ticate, and not hastily deuoured." BS. Pref.

\*mordicatif biting, sharp, pungent L.  
1603 (Holland)  
" ... this disease requireth sharp medicines as  
those, which be mordicatif or biting." K. 70.

mutually 1540 (Pol. Verg. Eng. Hist.)  
"whan layeng mutually their handes one ouer a nothers  
necke ..." G. I.xvii.73.

mutulate (adj. pple.) L.  
1532 (Frith)  
"in moste cruell wise caused him to be so shamefully  
mutilate." G. III.vi.217.

perfumed (pple.-adj.) F. fr. L.  
1538 (Elyot, Dict.) "to smoke"  
"perfumed with tedious sauours of the metalles by  
him yoten." G. I.xiii.31.

phthiriasis body condition producing lice L. fr. Gr.  
and causing irritation  
1598 (Sylvester)  
"the lowsy sycknes called phthiriasis." K. 68.

premeditate L.  
1548 (Hall)

---

(7 continued) chebuli mirabolani pron. kebuli.  
Acc. to Thevenot, c. 1665, ad. Urdu Kabuli ('les Orientaux  
les appellent Cabuly') of Cabul, imported thence to India.  
Florio, 1598, has chebuli, Cotgrave, 1611, chebule.

8 The verb dates from 1649 (Jer. Taylor).



"What thynges he that is elected or appointed to be  
a gouvournour of a publike weale ought to premeditate."  
G. II.i.116.

prescribed (pple.-adj.)  
1577 (Bullinger's Decades)  
"also kepyng Will ...within the precinct prescribed  
to hir by understandyng." K. 63.

prospective F. fr. L.  
1599 (B. Jonson)  
"he wyll sette out the fygure perfaictly, and ...  
by prospective." K. 25.

Pythagoriens 'disciples of Pythagoras' L. fr. Gr.  
1550 (W. Lynne)  
"Pitheas and Damon, two Pythagoriens, that is to say,  
studentes of Pythagoras lerninge, ..." G. II.xi.165.

qualifieng 'modifying' F. fr. Med. L.  
1533 (More)  
"Wherfore the preeminence therof aboue daunsing  
qualifieng the offence, ..." G. I.xix.86.

recognised Of. fr. L.  
1531-2 (Act 23 Hen. VIII)  
"Wherat Saull beinge abasshed, recognised his un-  
kyndnesse, ..." G. III.vi.215.

\*refricate 'open up again' L.  
1570 (Foxye)  
"I moughte happen to refricate the late variaunce  
betwene the and me." K. 16.

reprochefull 1548 (Elyot, Dict.)  
"inconstance is reprochefull and odious." G.III.xix.256.

repugnauncie 1557 (New Test.)  
"the vexation of euill opinions and their repugnauncie  
despoileth the mynde of all helthe, ..." G.III.xi.234.

Repulse L.  
1533 (Bellenden)  
"Surely this Repulse or (as they vulgarly speke)  
puttyng backe from promotion, ..." G. III.xiii.237.

requittal 1579 (G. Harvey)  
"The luttell boke whyche I sent you ... a smal  
requittal of your gentyll benefites." PD. Pref.



sacietie F. fr. L.  
 1533 (Elyot, CH., 1541, 40b)  
 "of sacietie or fulnesse be ingendred paynfull  
 diseases and sickenneses, as squynces, Distilla-  
 tions called rewmes or ppses, ..." G. III.xxii.263.

saltation 'leaping; a leap' L.  
 1646 (Sir T. Browne)  
 "a semblable motion, whiche they called daunsinge  
 or saltation; ..." G. I.xx.89.

scrupulously 1533 (Elyot, CH., 1541, 51)  
 "if it be but a fauconer, he wyll scrupulously  
 enquire what skylle he hath in feedyng, ..." G. I.  
 xiii.53.

seperately 1552 (Huloet)  
 "discention amonge the people, they beinge seperately  
 enclined towarde theyr naturall souerayne lorde, ..." G. I. ii.11.

statuary<sup>9</sup> 'art of making statues' L.  
 1563 (Shute)  
 "either in musike, or in statuary, or paynters  
 crafte, ..." G. I.viii.32.

supersticiousely 'over-scrupulously'  
 1535 (Joye)  
 "I haue traunslated this lyttell boke; not super-  
 sticiousely folowyng the letter." CYP. Pref.

syncere L.  
 1533 (Frith)  
 "ioyned to them in a syncere and assured frendship,  
 ..." G. II.xiii.188.

undeformed (pple.-adj.)  
 1672-3 (Grew)  
 "thy visage saufe and undeformed." K. 70.

<sup>10</sup>  
 \*\*unscattered  
 "no litell murmur and sedition ... was wonderfully  
 pacified, and the armie unscattered by the maiestie  
 of Agamemnon, ..." G. I.ii.12.

varietie F. fr. L.  
 1548 (Udall)  
 "it hath moche varietie in wordes, ..." G. I.x.35.

---

9 As 'one who practises the art' 1581 (Mulcaster).  
 10 There is no NED authority for this word.



c

- beneficence F. or dir. L.  
 1531 (Elyot, G. II.x.(1883) 112)  
 "yet be there thre principall virtues by whome  
 humanitie is chiefly compact; beneuolence, bene-  
 ficence, and liberalitie ..." G II.viii.147.
- consolidate (adj.-pple.) 1531 (Elyot, G.III.xxvi.285)  
 "The water, whiche is somewhat consolidate, ..." G. I.i.3
- 1
- \*education 'process of bringing up L.  
 young persons'  
 1531 (Elyot, G. I.ii.15)  
 "this present boke treateth of the education of them  
 that hereafter may be demed worthy to be gouernours."  
 G. Proh.
- excrementes 'faeces or waste matter from F.  
 the bowels'  
 1533 (Elyot, CH. II (1541) 18b)  
 "I wrate and did set forth the Castell of helth ...  
 that the uncertayne tokens of wines, and other ex-  
 ccrementes should not deceiue them." CH. (1541) Proh.
- explicating 'unfolding in words' L.  
 1531 (Elyot, G. I.xv.70)  
 "Tulli saienge that to him belongeth the explicating  
 or unfoldinge of sentence, ..." G I.xiii.55.
- frequent L.  
 1531 (Elyot, G. III.vii.220)  
 "feare frequent and sharpe, set forth with extremitie,  
 stereth men to presumption and hardines, ..." G II.vii.145.
- frequently  
 1531 (Elyot, G. I.xxii.98)  
 "the noble warkes of Plato and Aristotle, wherin he  
 shall fynde the autoritie of poetes frequently al-  
 leged." G I.xiii.57.
- frugalitie F. fr. L.  
 1531 (Elyot, G. III.xxii.262)  
 "frugalitie, whiche is a sobrenesse or moderation  
 in liuinge ..." G. II.xi.163.
- hostilitie L.  
 1531 (Elyot, G. I.xxiv.103)  
 "Ferrare and ... Venise, ... seldome suffreth damage  
 excepte it happen by outwarde hostilitie." G. I.ii.13.





2

- industrious            'skillfull, ingenious'            L.  
                         1531 (Elyot, G. I.xxiii.100)  
                         "the slouthfull or idell persone do nat participate  
                         with hym that is industrious and taketh payne."  
                         G. I.i.6.
- irritate                'to stir up, provoke to  
                         some action'                            L.  
                         1531 (Elyot, G. I.xix.86)  
                         "A man shall irritate vice if he prohibite  
                         Whan tyme is nat mete unto his utterance."  
                         G. I.xiii.59.
- modestie                F. fr. L.  
                         1531 (Elyot, G. I.xxv.107)  
                         "In what wise musike may be to a noble man neces-  
                         sarie: and what modestie ought to be therin."  
                         G. I.vii.25.
- participate            'take part in, share'            L.  
                         1531 (Elyot, G. III.xxiv.276)  
                         "that where with he dothe participate by the ordre  
                         of his creation, ..." G. I.i.3.
- placabilitie            L.  
                         1531 (Elyot, G. II.vi.136)  
                         "thre speciall qualities, affabilitie, placabilitie,  
                         and mercy;" G. II.v.130.

#### ADDENDA

- fragmentes            'isolated parts'            F. fr. L.  
                         1531 (Elyot, G. I.xix.85)  
                         "innumerable gloses, wherby the moste necessary doc-  
                         trines of lawe and phisike be mynced in to frag-  
                         mentes, ..." G. I.xiv.65.

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(1 continued) a child or animal', 1540 (T. Raynalde); as  
'systematic instruction', 1616 (Brinsley).

2 Implied in industriously in 1523.



I (3)

In the lists below are words which were in the English language when Elyot wrote, but which were used by him in meanings or significations that had not been attributed to them before. Under "a" are words whose first usage in the meaning in which Elyot used them is attributed by the NED to Elyot and cited in the same quotations as those given below; under "b" are words the first NED citations for which are later than the date of Elyot's first use; under "c" are words for which the first NED quotation in the meaning indicated is later by only a few pages in the same work than the quotation given below. As in Section I (2), the third group here is more closely related to "a" than to "b".

One asterisk marks those words which lost the particular meaning here noted before 1700; two asterisks mark those words which lost the meaning here noted with Elyot's use. All words so marked will be found listed in Section I (4) of this Appendix and discussed in the corresponding section of Chapter IV. Comments in addition to the above will be made in footnotes.

a

- \*accomodate                    'attribute'  
 "This sentence is of olde writars supposed for to be firste spoken by Chilo ... Other do accomodate it to Apollo ..." G. III.iii.202.
- affirmaunce                    'confirming'  
 "To the affirmaunce therof they adde to othes, adurations, and horrible curses, ..." G. II.xiv.190.
- alured                        'attracted to (or from) a place'  
 "they bees issue forthe sekyng a newe habitation, whiche they fynde in some tree, except with some pleasant noyse they be alured and conuayed unto an other hyue." G. I.ii.9.
- \*attemptate                    'attempt, an endeavor'  
 "Whiche attemptate the writing of the Gouvernour is nat of presumption to teache any persone, I my selfe hauinge moste nede of teachinge ..." G. Proh.



augmentation            'augmented state or condition'  
 "Therof commeth augmentation of heat." CH. (1541) 46.

barre                    'a thin rod of iron or wood used  
                          in a trial of strength, distance  
                          being the objective'  
 "Touching suche exercises, ... liftynge and throw-  
 yng the heuy stone or barre, playing at tenyse, and  
 diuers semblable exercises, ..." G. I.xvi.73.

<sup>1</sup>  
 \*cautele                'caution, wariness'  
 "wherefore there is required to be therein moche cau-  
 tele and sobrenesse." G. I.iv.21.

Chaos                    'The 'formless void' of primor-  
                          dial matter, the 'great deep' or  
                          'abyss' out of which the cosmos  
                          or order of the univers was evolved.'" NED  
 "Certes nothyng finally, except some man wolde im-  
 agine eftsones Chass: whiche of some is expounde a  
 confuse mixture." G. I.i.3.

clammie                  'of liquids'  
 "Great abundance of superfluouse humours, thicke and  
 clammie." I. 72.

conflicte                'strife' (in transferred or  
                          figurative sense)  
 "Also where there is any lank of ordre nedes must  
 be perpetuall conflicte ..." G. I.i.3.

correctour               'one who exercises discipline'  
 "Wherefore said he to the correctour, ... loke that  
 thou styl beate him." G. III.xxi.261.

\*cypher                  'a symbolic character; a  
                          hieroglyph'  
 "And if they had been as much attached with anuie  
 and couetise, as some nowe seeme to be, they the  
 Greeks, Romans, and Arabians<sup>7</sup> would haue deuised  
 some particuler language, with a strange cypher or  
 forme of letters, wherein they wold haue written  
 their scyence ..." CH. Proh. (1541).

---

<sup>1</sup> In usages limited to law and the church this word  
 has remained in the language to the present day.



- \*deprehende                    With a subordinate clause  
    "in the bokes of Tulli, men may deprehende, that in  
    hym lacked nat the knowlege of geometrye, ..." G. I.  
    xiv.67.
- \*discommodities                'an inconvenience'  
    "This discommodities do happen by implacable wrathe, .."  
    G. II.vi.138.
- distributive                  In "Justice distributive"  
    "Justice distributive hathe regarde to the persone; ..."  
    G. III.i.196:
- facile                        'easy to understand or make use of'  
    "made his exile to be to hym more facile and easy: ..."  
    G. I.v.22.
- fantasticall                  'fantastic'; of persons: 'imaginative'  
    "fantasticall foles wolde haue all thyngs, ..." G. I.  
    i.4.
- fastidious                    'disagreeable'  
    "that thinge for the whiche children be often tymes  
    beaten is to them euer after fastidious: ..." G.  
    I.ix.33.
- gnappyng (and kyckynge) 'to gnaw at'  
    "Lyke a golde horse abidyng no plaisters be alwaye  
    gnappyng and kyckynge." K. Proh.
- gourmandyse                  'to eat like a glutton'  
    "Cibus, Ingurgitare se cibus, 'to gourmandyse to  
    eate vnmoderately.' " Dict.
- harborowe                    'drive from , or trap in, one's  
                                shelter'  
    "a fewe nombre of houndes, onely to harborowe, or  
    rouse, the game ..." G. I.xviii.p.82.
- hasardes                      NED gives no usage of the word  
                                separate from the game before Elyot.  
    "the hasardes and daungers of batayle..." G. I.xvii.75.
- hyed (me)                    'to make progress', 'prosper'  
    "scorne me, sayenge that I haue well hyed me, to make  
    of a noble man a mason or peynter." G. I.viii.28.
- impenetrable                  'inscrutable, unfathomable'  
    "neuer so difficile (or as who saythe) impenitrable, .."  
    G. I.xxiii.100.





\*infarced                    'to stuff'(in a transitive  
                                 and figurative sense)  
      "beynge occupied in redynge this warke, infarced  
      througly with suche histories and sentences ..."  
      G. I.iii.18.

inflate                    'filled with wind, air, or gas'  
       "They do inflate the stomacke, and cause head ache."  
 CH. II.vii.,1541,22b.

inhabile 'to supply with requisite means or  
opportunities to an end or for an  
object'  
"lernynge do inhabile a man of the base astate of  
the communalitie, to be thought of all men worthy  
to be so moche auaunced:..." G. I.iii.17.

instinction            'quality of having instincte'  
     "naturall instinction of creatures unreasonable ..."  
     G. III.iii.205.

insufficiency        'inadequacy (of a thing)'  
       "whiche be borrowed of the latin tonge for the in-  
       sufficiencie of our owne langage, ..." G. I.i.2.

intimation                    'action of making known or  
                                  expressing merely; suggestion'  
"for the intimation of sondry vertues, ..." G. I.  
xxi.94.

iurates                    'one who has taken an oath;  
                             especially about given inform-  
                             ation concerning crimes'  
"I meane witnesses and iurates, ..." G. III.vii.222.

loyaltie                   'faithful adherence to a sovereign or  
                             government'  
"I owe al my studyes, prayer, seruyce, and loyaltie,  
..." BS. Proh.

\*maturitie 'due promptness'  
 "I am constrained to usurpe a latine worde, callyng  
 it Maturitie: ..." G. I.xxii.97-8.

modulation                   'tempering; action of forming,  
                                  regulating, varying according  
                                  to due measure and proportion'  
"that temperance and subtile modulation ..." G. I.  
xx.89.

noted 'discussion of a hypothetical case by students at the Inns'



- of Court for practice'  
"where fyrst a case is appoynted to be moted by  
certayne yonge men, contaynyng ..." G. I.xiv.65.
- obsessed (1) Transferred and figurative  
sense 'to beset, assail, or  
harass'  
"the mynde is obsessed with inordinate glorie, lest  
pride, of al vices most horrible ..." G. II.iv.126.
- obsessed (2) Of evil spirits 'to haunt',  
'beset', 'assail'  
"I omyt to speake of the confession of dyuels, which  
... were cast out of people, which were obsessed."  
I. 54b.
- opportunitie 'quality of being opportune'  
"Which if it be radde of hym that hath good opportu-  
nitie and quiete silence." G. I.xviii.84.
- \*participate 'have some of the qualities of'  
"The sprynge tyme dothe participate the fyrste parte  
with winter, the later parte with sommer." CH.,1541,  
37.
- \*personages 'personality, individual self'  
"our wittes may be amended and our personages be  
more apte ..." G. III.xxv.284.
- peruse 'to read carefully', hence  
'to read'  
"Thei ... doo peruse every daye one chapitre of  
the New Testament." 1532,Letter to Cromwell.
- plenitude 'fulness; plethora (of animals)'  
"Wherefore the lettynge of blonde is ... expedient  
... also for them, in whom, without plenitude, callyd  
fulness, inflammations begyn to be in their bodies."  
CH. 61a.
- ponderous 'of high specific gravity'  
"of substance grosse and ponderous, ..." G. I.i.4.
- prepenche Intransitive and absolute  
"to thinke, consydre, and prepenche, and ..." G. III.  
xxiv.277.
- preuent 'to provide beforehand vs.  
the occasion of something'



"Praecidere causam belli, to preuent and take  
awaie cleane the occasi<sup>o</sup>n of warre." Dict.

recreate 'refresh or enliven the mind'  
"to recreate their spirites, ..." G. I.vii.25.

\*Reprehensions 'proof of fallacy'  
"Confutations, named of some Reprehensions, ..."  
G. I.xiv.66.

reproche 'an expression of disapproval  
censure'  
"Contumelia, ... a reproche, a rebuke, a checke,  
a taunte." Dict.

\*residence 'sediment, that which remains  
as a deposit.'  
"Whan there appereth in the wyne a residence lyght  
and whyte." CH. 61b.

\*\*slypper 'readily passing through the body'  
"Moreover take hede, that slypper meates be not  
firste eaten." CH. 46.

\*sophisticate 'falsified more or less,  
not plain or straightforward'  
"that whiche is sophisticate, and consisteth in  
sophismes ..." G. III.xi.234.

successiuelly 'continuously, without  
interruption'  
"And so successiuelly one kynge gouerned all the  
people of Israell unto the time of Roboaz, ..."  
G. I.ii.10.

suffrage  
"/In Germany/ the Preest [at mass] in vestmentes  
after oure manner singith eueri thing in Latine as  
we use, omitting suffrages." Letter to Cromwell,  
1532.

supernaturall 'more than natural or ordinary'  
"Unnaturall or supernaturall heate distroyeth appe-  
tite." CH.,1539,16.

tent 'a stretching frame, especially  
for holding embroidery or tap-  
estry while making'  
"Tendicula ... a nette or snare to take byrdes or  
beastes in, also a teynter, and a tent that broth-  
erers woorke on." Dict.



- triumphant 'celebrating a triumph,  
triumphed'  
"in triumphant apparaile within ..." G. III.xxi.  
259.
- uncorrupted 'applied to persons or their  
attributes' [See I (3) b7]  
'unadulterated'  
"So true a poticary, that hath always drowges un-  
corrupted." CH.,1541,57.
- vacaunt 'free from, unoccupied with'  
"The great Alexander, in tymes vacaunt from bataile  
..." G. I.xviii.82.
- valuation 'value, estimated value'  
[See I (3) b7]  
'appreciation in respect  
of excellence or merit'  
"Aestimatio, a valuation, consideracion, or weying  
of a matter." Dict. Pref.
- vehement (1) 'applied to natural forces'  
"peryll of rayne or vehement wynde, ..." G. I.ii.9.
- vehement (2) 'applied to actions'  
"where contrayrye wise by exercise, whiche is a ve-  
hement motion ..." G. I.xvi.72.
- versifyers 'with depreciative force, a  
mere poor writer, rimester,  
poetaster'  
"be nat of auncient writers named poetes, but onely  
called versifyers." G. I.xiii.56.
- vigilaunt 'applied to the attention, char-  
acterized by vigilance'  
"moche redyng and vigilaunt studie in ..." G. I.  
xiii.61.
-









"And nowe, perchance, some enuious reder wyll here-  
of apprehende occasion to scorne me, ..." G. I.viii.  
28.

apropriatyng      Used before Elyot as an ecclesiastical  
term only.  
1533 (Tindale)

"I may, ... name them /inferiour gouernours/ gouernours  
at this tyme, apropiatyng, to the soueraignes, names  
of kynges and princes, ..." G. I.iii.16.

aspecte      'appearance of a person  
or object'  
1590 (Marlowe)

"On the other side came Detraction, ... hauynge her  
aspecte or lāke like to the fire, ..." G. III.xxvii.  
289.

baudry      'lewdness in speech or  
writing'  
1589 (Pappe W. Hatchet)

"to shew what profite may be taken by the diligent  
reding of auncient poetes, ... contrary to false opin-  
ion, ... of them that suppose that in the warkes of  
poetes is contayned nothyng but baudry, ... and un-  
profitable leasinges." G. I.xiii.57.

champaine      As a non-legal adjective  
1575

"in some countrayes that be champaine ..." G. I.  
xviii.84.

ciuile      'differentiated from criminal'  
(as a law)  
1611 (Cotgrave)

"substanciall lernynng in the lawes Ciuile, ..." G. I.xiv.68.

committeth      In such senses as 'commit to  
story, writing, memory'  
1568 (Grafton)

"And whan the thyng selfe is removed, out of sight,  
that impression that remaineth, is called imagination  
who committeth it forthwith unto memorie, ..." K. 39.

comprised      'comprehended compendiously'  
1534 (Berners)

"wanton poets, who in the latine do expresse them  
incomparably with more grace and delectation to the  
reder than our englysshe tonge may yet comprehende."  
G. I.xiii.59.



consisteth 'is made up of'  
1565-73 (Cooper)  
"For in the fyrste, whiche consisteth of good men,..."  
G. I.ii.8.

conuencions 'gathering of persons with some common  
object'  
1552 (Lyndesay)  
"For therat nat onely dependeth all contractes, con-  
uencions, commutations, entercourses, ..." G. III.  
vii.223.

curtaisie 'a bow'  
1575 (Laneham)  
"The first meuing in euey daunse is called honour,  
whiche is a reuerent inclination or curtaisie, ..." G. I.xxii.97.

detaynyng In general sense of holding in a place  
1541 (Wyatt)  
"imploye it to the detaynyng of other within the  
boundes of reason, ..." G. I.i.5.

diriuied As of a word: 'formed from'  
1567 (Maplet)  
"Publike (as Varro saith) is diriuied of people, ..." G. I.i.1-2.

disagre 'differ in opinion'  
1559 (Strype)  
"in the affect of dilectacion we two disagree." K. 22.

discommended 'spoken of dissuasively'  
1533 (Elyot, CH. II.vii.23)  
"the making of versis is nat discommended in a noble  
man: ..." G. I.x.40.

disposer 'director, manager'  
1586 (Countess Pembroke)  
"the uniuersall course of nature may stande or be  
permanent without one chiefe disposer and meuer, ..." G. III.xxiii.268.

Distillations 'catarrh, defluxion of rheum'  
1533 (Elyot, CH., 1541, 78a)  
"of sacietie or fulnesse be ingendred paynfull dis-  
eases and sickenneses, as squynces, Distillations  
called rewmes or poses, ..." G. III.xxii.263.

\*durable 'able to endure toil, fatigue'  
1540-1 (Elyot, I., 1556, 4)  
"yet is there not in them the propertie or nature of



goodnes, for they be not durable." K. 84.

encroche 'impinge'  
1534 (Pol. Verg. Eng. Hist.)  
"that infelicitie of our tyme and countray compelleth  
us to encroche some what upon the yeres of children,  
..." G. I.v.21.

entertainment Modern senses of this word are all  
later than Elyot.  
"for the gentill entertainment of their frendes..."  
G. I.xviii.84.

entrecourse 'social communication among individuals'  
1547-64 (Bauldwin)  
"betwene whom hapneth to be any entrecourse or famili-  
aritie, ..." G. II.xi.164.

euangelicall Of persons: 'religious, adhering to  
the new religion in sixteenth century'  
1532 (More)  
"euangelicall persones ..." G. III.iii.205.

experience (vb.)  
"In extreme necessitie it were better experience some  
remedy, than to do nothyng." CH. III., 1541, vi. 62b.

\*exquisite Of knowledge  
1564 (Golding)  
"the exquisite knowlege and understanding ..." G. I.  
viii.31.

faithfull In absolute sense: 'true believers'  
1558 (Bp. Watson)  
"as wel faithfull as gentyles ..." BS. Pref.

fondely 'tenderly'  
1593 (Shakespeare)  
"slepyng moderately and fondely in the nyght ..." CH. 42b-44a.

\*\*forbeare 'restrain (another)'  
No NED example of this sense  
"to forbeare or prohibite a man to come into a faire  
gardein, ..." G. I.xiii.60.

franked Fig. use  
1555 (Abp. Parker)  
"They which be franked up in Idelnes ..." K. 81.





- furniture 'intellectual equipment'  
1561 (Norton)  
"For a right oratour may nat be without a moche  
better furniture." G. I.xiii.55.
- garmerde As a pple.-adj.  
1842  
"as it were a garmerde heaped with ..." G. I.xiv.  
67.
- habitation 'a place where a thing is'  
figuratively  
NED gives no illustration  
of this figurative use.  
"the bodeye ... is the habitation or vessell, whiche  
receyveth the soule." K. 56.
- incitation 'that which incites to action'  
1622 (Sparrow)  
"is nothyng contayned but incitation to lechery"  
G. I.xiii.58.
- ingraued 'carved'  
1542 (Udall)  
"In like wise his plate and vessaile wolde be in-  
graued with histories, fables, or quicke and wise  
sentences, ..." G. II.iii.126.
- ingrossed 'absorbed'  
1602 (Warner)  
"havige their myndes ingrossed with carnall af-  
fections." K. 58.
- insensate 'wanting in mental or moral  
feeling'  
1553 (T. Wilson)  
"Grose, insensate, lackynge capacitie of knowlege."  
K. 27.
- instrumentall 'organic, having bodily  
function'  
1533 (Elyot, CH.(1541)10b.)  
"dyuers instrumentall partes of the body" G. III.  
xxiv.276.
- mature Pertaining to a person  
'having powers of body and  
mind fully developed'  
1600 (J. Pory)  
"And also obserue that she be of mature or ripe age, .."  
G. I.iv.19.



- mediocritie 'intermediate between  
extremes' /See I (3) c7
- missprision 'contempt, scorn'  
1586 (A. Day)  
"he was forthe with accused, as it were, of miss-  
prision: ..." G. I.vii.27.
- precinct 'a bounded area'  
transferred and figuratively  
1542 (Udall)  
"also keypyng will ... within the precinct pre-  
scribed to hir by understandyng." K. 63.
- reedifieng 'rebuild (cities, realms, etc.)'  
1540-1 (Elyot, I. 43.)  
"to the reedifieng of cities and commune houses  
decayed for age, ..." G. II.x.159-60.
- scarifieng 'making incision in body  
for purpose of bleeding'  
1541 (R. Copland)
- singularitie 'uniqueness'  
1583 (Stubbes)  
"without singularitie or preeminence of nature."  
G. III.iii.202.
- situation 'place occupied by something'  
1542-3 (Act 34 & 35 Henry VIII.)  
"the situation of his campe, ..." G. I.viii.29.
- uncorrupted Applied to persons or  
their attributes  
1565 (Cooper)  
"with an humble spirite and uncorrupted intent, ..."  
PD. Pref.
- unneth 'unless'  
There is no NED authority  
for that usage.  
"they neded nat to deuour and consume the hennes of  
this realme in suche nombre, that unneth it be short-  
ly considred, ... within a shorte space of yeres,  
our familiar pultrie shall be as scarce, as be nowe  
partriche and fesaunt." G. I.viii.84.
- vacation Used as an adjective  
1628 (Milton)  
"in the vacation season from warres, they ..." G.  
I.xviii.82.



valuation                    'value, estimated value'  
                              1551 (Robinson)  
      "Also to remember the valuation of all our coyns,  
      as they be rated at this present time, and ..."  
      Dict. Pref.

voluntary                    As brought about by one's  
                              choice, 'self-inflicted'  
                              1548 (Elyot, Dict.)  
      "And that parte of iustyce is containd in inter-  
      medlynge, and somtyme is voluntary, somtyme in-  
      voluntary intermedlynge." G. III.i.196.

---



c

- audacitie 'venturesomeness, rashness'  
1531 (Elyot, G. III.viii.225)  
"under whom [the Tribunes] they [Roman citizens]  
receyued suche audacitie and power that they finally  
optained the higheste authoritie in the publike  
weale, ..." G. I.ii.12.
- compacte 'made up by combination of parts,  
framed, composed'  
1531 (Elyot, G. I.xxii.97)  
"A publike weale is a body lyuyng compacte or made  
of sondry astates and degrees of men, ..." G. I.i.1.
- \*discrepance 'distinction'  
1531 (Elyot, G. II.iii.124)  
"euery thinge shulde be to all men in commune, with-  
out discrepance of any astate or condition, ..." G. I.i.2.
- \*domesticall 'pertaining to one's country'  
1531 (Elyot, G. II.vi.139)  
"We have also an example domesticall, ..." G. I.ii.13.
- extenuate 'to make a person's body thin'  
1533 (Elyot, CH. III.xii., 1541, 66)  
Ch. 26b.
- industrie 'diligence or assiduity in the per-  
formance of any task'  
1531 (Elyot, G. III.xxiii.273)  
"none industrie auayled, ..." G. I.ii.14.
- relected 'refused to have or take; put aside  
as useless or worthless'  
1531 (Elyot, G. I.xxv.105)  
"Artaxerxes, ...who relected nat the pore husbondman  
whiche offred to hym his homely handes full of clene  
water, ..." G. Proh.
- tollerable 'sufferable, allowable&  
1531 (Elyot, G. II.ii.124)  
"one was most tollerable where the gouernance and  
rule was alway permitted to them whiche excelled in  
vertue, ..." G. I.ii.7.

ADDENDA

- mediocritie 'intermediate between extremes'  
1531 (Elyot, G. III.viii.225)  
"Maturitie, whiche is the meane or mediocritie be-  
twene slouthe and celeritie, ..." G. I. xxii.98.





I (4)

Following is a complete list of the words found in Elyot that became obsolete before 1700, with the exception of the approximately twenty words which, according to the NED, were obsolete before he wrote or became so with his use. These have been discussed in Section I (4) of Chapter IV. In the list below, the place of the occurrence of the words in Elyot's writing is given, but there is no quotation, because most of the words have been mentioned in earlier sections of this Appendix. The date and author or document given are in each case the last entry in the NED for the particular word or the particular meaning. One asterisk indicates that the word or meaning so marked was introduced into the language after 1500; two asterisks indicate that the word or meaning was introduced by Elyot himself. Words so marked are to be found in former sections of this Appendix.

**abhorreth	G. I.xi.46. In a causal sense	1604 (Shakspeare)
abieted	G. I.xxvii.113. 'cast off or away'	1650 (Venner)
abrayded	G. (1580) 102. 'upbraided'	1600 (Fairfax)
**accomodate	G. III.iii.202. 'attribute'	1676 (J. Owen)
**achieuances	G. III.xxiii.269. 'achievements'	1633 (T. Newton)
**adminiculation	G. I.iii.17. 'prop, support'	1670 (Hackett)
**aggregatours	CH. Proh., 1541. 'adherents'	1621 (Burton)
*allected	G. I.xiv.68. 'allured, drawn'	1552 (Huloet)
**allectyue	G. I.v.21. 'enticement, allurements'	1675 ( <u>Art of Con-</u> <u>tentment</u> )



amoue		1596 (Spenser)
*aporcionate	G. I.iii.17. 'apportion'	1670 (Hacket)
appetiting	G. I.xxi.95. 'desiring'	1652 (Culpepper)
**applicare	G. III.iii.201. 'apply'	1659 (Pearson)
**apprehende	G. I.viii.28. 'to seize an opportunity'	1633 ( <u>La Primaud</u> <u>Fr. Acad.</u> )
appropered	G. I.i.4. 'appropriate to'	1614 (Selden)
auncientie	G. III.xxv.283. 'remoteness of time'	1623 (Sanderson)
**bargenettes	G. I.xx.93. 'rustic dances'	1600 ( <u>England's</u> <u>Helicon</u> )
**blenchars	G. I.xxiii.99. 'scarecrows; one placed to turn deer in hunting'	1625 (Fletcher)
*burdaynous	K. 85. 'burdensome'	1671 (Milton)
buten	G. II.i.118. 'prey'	1640 (H. Lawrence)
**commentaries	G. I.xi.46. 'collection of notes or memoranda'	1538 (Starkey)
**comprobate	G. III.xxiii.274. 'prove, confirm'	1660 (Gauden)
**Conciones	G. I.xi.46. 'orations, exhortations'	1644 (Bulwer)
**concoct	CH. Ded. 'digested'	1661 (Holyday)
**conferences	CH. Proh.; Dict.Pref. 'comparison'	1663 (Charleton)
**confins	G. I.xx.92. 'neighbors'	1598 (Sylvester)
**conglutinate	G. III.i.195. 'put together'	1610 (Healey)



**consulte (1)	G. I.xi.44.	1700 (Dryden)	'deliberate upon', with matter expressed by a clause
**consulte (2)	G. III.xxx.296.	1658 (Ussher)	'meditated', in an absolute sense
condite	CH., 1541, 23.	1639 (Anchoran)	'preserved'
*continuyng	G. I.vii.25.	1682 (G. Vernon)	'duringe' (prep.)
*cruciate	G. II.xii.177.	1563-87 (Foxe)	'afflicted'
**cypher	CH. Proh., 1541.	1614 (Raleigh)	'symbolic character'
**decerpt	G. III.xxiv.276.	1678 (Cudworth)	'extracted, excerpted'
**depopulate	G. I.ii.10.	1580 (North)	'laid waste'
**deprehende	G. I.xiv.67.	1675 (R. Vaughan)	'snatch away', with sub. clause
**descicion	Dict. Ded.	1659 (Pearson)	'a cutting out or off'
**despeched	G. II.ii.123.	1550 (Nicolls)	'send away, dispatch'
digne	G. III.v.209.	1643 (Prynne)	'worthy'
**discommodies	G. II.vi.138.	1690 (W. Walker)	'inconveniences'
*discourage	G. I.i.6.	1611 (Speed)	'absence of courage'
**discrepance	G. I.i.2.	1611 (Chapman)	'distinction'
**domisticall	G. I.ii.13.	1655 (Fuller)	In reference to one's country
**education	G. Proh.	1647 (Milton)	'process of bringing up young persons'. The word was introduced into the language in this sense



Epilogation	K. 93.	1547 (T. Key)
	'a summing up in conclusion'	
**erogation	G. II.viii.148.	1677 (Hale)
	'expenditure'	
<sup>1</sup> **excerped	G.	1697 (Molyneux)
	'excerpted'	
**excogitate	G. II.vii.146.	1689 ( <u>Buchanan</u> )
<sup>2</sup> **expeditely	G. I.xxvii.114.	1684 (H. More)
**exquisite	G. I.viii.31.	1651 (Culpepper)
	In reference to knowledge	
fatigate	G. I.vii.25.	1607 (Shakespeare)
	'wearied'	
**formalitie	G. I.xiv.65.	1677 ( <u>Phil.Trans.</u> )
	'agreement with the laws of form'	
**fucate	G. III.iv.209.	1621 (Burton)
	'artificially colored; hence, falsified'	
generalitie	G. III.iii.205.	1676 (Hale)
	'generality'	
hayes	K. 36.	1643 (W. Cartwright)
	'fences, hedges; for catching prey; fig.'	
<sup>3</sup> historial	G. I.xi.48.	1649 (Roberts)
	'historical'	
**illecebrous	G. I.vii.26.	1656 (Blount)
	'alluring, enticing'	
*illected	G. I.vii.27.	1534 (More)
	'allured, enticed'	
importable	G. I.ii.10.	1651 (Calderwood)
	'unendurable'	
**infarced	G. I.iii.18.	1624 (F. White)
	'stuffed', trans. and fig.	

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1 Contrary to rule, this word is formed on the L. inf. excerpere, instead of the part. excerptus.

2 Expedition is old. Expedite as adj. and vb., after Elyot.

3 Historial was so spelled as late as 1513.





*infuded	G. III.xxiii.269. 1599 (Gabelhouer) 'poured in, infused'
inquietation	G. II.vii.146. 1684 ( <u>Bonet</u> ) 'action of disturbing'
instinction	G. I.xiii.57. 1670 (Lassels) 'inspiration'
**instrumentall	CH., 1541, 10b. 1607 (Topsell) 'having bodily function'
**Maturitie	G. I.xxii.97-8. 1670 (Marvell)
mitigate	G. II.vi.138. 1592 (Neal) 'softened, appeased'
**mordicatif	K. 70. 1634 (R.H.) 'biting, pungent'
mountenance	G. II.xii.172. 1674 (Josselyn) 'amount, value'
*naturall	G. Proh. 1657-61 (Helvin) In reference to a country or language
noyouse	CH. Proh., 1541. 1675 (Huyberts) 'annoying, injuring'
nygardshyppe	G. III.xxii.265. 1673 (R. Head) 'stinting; opposite of excessiveness'
odible	G. III.xii.235. 1675 (Baxter)
**ostent <sup>4</sup>	G. II.xiv.192. 1633 ( <u>Exp. 2 Peter</u> ) 'show, display', vb. <u>1. 7)</u>
percase	K. 35. 1605 <sup>5</sup> (M. Sutcliffe) 'perchance'
**personages	G. III.xxv.284. 1650 (Bulwer) 'personalities, individual selves'
**petites	G. III.xxv.283. 1691 ( <u>Emilianne</u> ) 'junior schoolboys'

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4 The sb. ostent dates from 1563-87 (Foxe)

5 The NED has only dictionary and glossary references for this word after 1605.



possede	G. III.iii.202. 'possess'	1641 (Bp. Montagu)
preordinate	G. II.xii.171. 'preordained'	1643 (T. Browne)
*prepensed	G. I.xxv.105. 'anticipated'	1656 (Bp. Hall)
pretented	G. II.xiv.191. 'pretended'	1602 (Fitzherbert)
**pristine	G. I.ii.13. 'pristine'	1630 (B. Jonson)
*procreacion	EC. Pref. 'offspring, that which is procreated'	1651 (Hobbes)
propise	G. I.iv.19. 'proper, fit'	1656 (Blount)
**prouecte	G. I.iv.20. 'carried forward, advanced'	1636 (Brathwait)
pursenettes	K. 36. 'traps'	Late 17th century
**recantyng	Dict. 'withdrawing, renouncing'	1671 (Glanvill)
recuperable	G. I.xiii.59. 'recoverable'	1570 (Levins)
*redoubyng	G. I.vii.26. 'repairing, restoring'	1568 (Grafton)
**refricate	K. 16. 'to open up again'	1657 (Hawke)
**Reprehensions	G. I.xiv.66. A law term: 'proof of fallacy'	1620 (T. Granger)
6 **residence	CH. 61b. 'sediment, that which remains as a deposit'	1684 (Bonet)
resplendishinge	G. III.ii.199. 'being resplendent'	1549 (Chaloner)

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6 As 'place or act of residing' this word is very old.



rightwise	G. III.v.210.	Late 16th century
	Obs. spelling of <u>righteous</u>	
sluggardy	K. 75.	1606 (Holland)
	'sluggishness'	
slyppernesse	CH. 24b.	1609 ( <u>Bible</u> )
	'instability'	
**sophisticate	G. III.xi.234.	1678 (R. Russell)
	'falsified more or less, not plain or straight-forward'	
sourded	G. I.ii.11.	1606 (Warner)
	'arose'	
**squynce		1610 (G.Babington)
	Same as <u>squinance</u> or <u>squinsy</u> , 'a throat ailment'	
surmise		1623 ( <u>N. Shaks. Soc.</u> <u>Trans.</u> )
	'blame'	
*surnamed	G. I.xii.50.	1697 (Potter)
	'given such-and-such a name'	
terrement	PD. Pref.	1568 (Grafton)
	'burial'	
Timorositie	G. III.xiii.225.	1647 ( <u>SP.HO.COM.</u> )
	'timorousness'	
**turgions	G. I.xx.93.	1549 ( <u>Compl. Scot.</u> )
	'lively dances'	
**uncorrupted	CH., 1541, 57.	1683 ( <u>Roxb. Ball.</u> )
	'unadulterated'	
**vendicate	G. III.iii.202.	1616 (J. Lane)
	'claim for oneself'	
ventilate		1532-3 ( <u>Act 24 Hen.</u> )
	'fanned, winnowed, threshed <u>Vau</u> out'	
* yorning	G. I.xviii.82.	1674 (N. Cox)
	Of hounds: 'crying out eagerly'	



## II (1)

Below is a complete list of the double expressions found in Elyot, which are strictly linguistic and not stylistic. They are arranged alphabetically according to the strange words involved. Only the first use of each double expression is referred to. New words are marked with one asterisk and new meanings with two; all the former are to be found in section I (2), and all the latter in section I (3), of this Appendix. Words unmarked were, though introduced before Elyot, still scarcely established in the language. The signs made up of Roman numeral, Arabic numeral, and letters refer to sections of this Appendix. All references to "I (2) a" and "I (2) b" indicate new words; all references to "I (3) a" and "I (3) b" indicate new meanings.

*abstersife	K. 70.	I (2) b
	"abstersife or clensinge"	
*acceleration	G. II.v.134.	I (2) a
	"acceleration or haste"	
*adminiculation	G. I.iii.17.	I (2) b
	"adminiculation or aide"	
*adustion <sup>1</sup>	CH., 1539, 11b.	I (2) a
	"Moche incendiynge or adustion of bloude"	
*aggregatours	CH. Proh., 1541.	I (2) a
	"aggregatours and folowers"	
**alured	G. I.ii.9.	I (3) a
	"alured and conuayed"	
**ambiguous	G. III.iv.208.	I (3) b
	"ambiguous or doubtfull"	
*ampliatinge	I. Pref., 1541.	I (2) b
	"correctinge and ampliatinge of my Dictionary"	

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1 Both members of this couplet are neologisms.





*amplificati <del>on</del>	Dict. Pref., 1545.	I (2) b	"correction and amplificaci <del>on</del> "
*analogie	G. II.iv.127.	I (2) b	"analogie or signification"
*animate	G. Proh.	I (2) b	"animate or gyue courage"
**aspecte	G. III. <del>xxvii</del> .289.	I (3) b	"aspecte or loke"
*assentatours	G. II.xiv.190.	I (2) a	"Assentatours or folowers"
**audacitie	G. I.ii.12.	I (3) b	"audacitie and power"
*blasphemous <sup>2</sup>	G. III.ii.197.	I (2) b	"reprocheable or blasphemous"
*commutative	G. III.i.196.	I (2) a	"commutative or by exchange"
**compacte	G. I.i.1.	I (3) b	"compacte or made"
**concion	G. I.xi.46.	I (3) a	"a solemne concion or proposition"
*concocteth	CH. 16a-17b.	I (2) a	"concocteth or boyleth"
*concoction	G. III. <del>xxii</del> .264.	I (2) a	"concoction and digestion"
*confins	G. I.xx.92.	I (2) a	"confins and neighbours"
conformable	R. 4.	I (1)	"conformable or like"
*constitutour	G. III.vii.223.	I (2) a	"constitutour and maker"
**cypher	CH. Proh., 1541.	I (3) a	"strange cypher or fourme of letters"

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2 Both members of this couplet are neologisms.



*decerpt	G. I.ii.14.	I (2) a	"the worlde was decerpt and remt in pieces"
*deliberate	G. II.ii.121.	I (2) b	"deliberate and graue pronounciation"
*demulced	G. I.xx.87.	I (2) a	"demulced and appaysed"
*descicion	Dict. Ded.	I (2) b	"descicion and condemnation of pernicious errours"
deuulgate	G. Proh.	I (1)	"deuulgate or sette forth"
dysarde	K. 20.	I (1)	"counterfayte dysarde or spie"
*education	G. I.ii.15.	I (2) b	"education or bringing up"
elected	G. II.i.116.	I (1)	#elected or appointed"
esbatements	G. II.ii.122.	I (4)	"noble esbatements and passetimes"
*excerped	G. II.i.116.	I (2) b	"excerped or gathered as well out of holy scripture"
*excogitation	G. I.xxiii.99.	I (2) a	"excogitation and auysement"
*explicating	G. I.xiii.55.	I (2) b	"explicating or unfoldinge"
**extenuate	CH. 26b.	I (3) b	"extenuate or make thin"
*exterior	G. III.viii.225.	I (2) b	"exterior or outwarde"
**fastidious	G. I.xxi.94.	I (3) a	"fastidious or fulsome"
**forbeare	G. I.xiii.60.	I (3) b	"forbeare or prohibite"



*frugalitie	G. III.xxii.262.	I (2) b	"frugalitie or moderation"
*fucate	G. III.iv.209.	I (2) a	"fucate or counterfayte"
**gourmandyse	CH. 16a-17b.	I (3) b	"eat without gourmandyse, or leawe with some appetite"
*graue	G. I.i.1.	I (2) b	"graue or sad"
**habitacion	K. 56.	I (3) b	"habitacion or vessell"
haye <sup>3</sup>	G. II.xiv.192.	I (4)	"haye or nette"
*illecebrouse	G. I.xiv.62.	I (2) a	"illecebrouse or delicate"
*imbecilitie	K. 80.	I (2) b	"imbecilitie or feblennesse of our nature"
incendynge <sup>4</sup>	CH. 11b.	I (2) a	"moche incendynge or adustion of bloude"
Magnanimitie <sup>5</sup>	G. III.xiv.240.	II (2)	"Magnanimitie or good courage"
**mature	G. I.iv.19.	I (3) b	"mature or ripe age"
*mediocritie	G. I.xxii.98.	I (2) a	"a meane or mediocritie betwene slouthe and celeritie"
*mordicatif	K. 70.	I (2) b	"mordicatif or biting"
*obfuscate	G. II.vii.141.	I (2) a	"obfuscate or hyd"

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3 This word was obsolete by 1650 and must have been rare at Elyot's time.

4 Cf. adustion.

5 Dates from 1340, but Elyot considered it "straunge".



*ostent	G. II.xiv.192.	I (2) a
	"ostent or shewe"	
**perused	G. II.i.116.	I(3)b
	"radde abd perused good authors"	
phrase	Cyp. Pref.	I (1)
	"right phrase or fourme of speakyng"	
**prepence	G. III.xxiv.277.	I (3) a
	"to thinke, consydre, and prepence#"	
**prepensd	G. I.xxv.105.	I (3) a
	"prepensd and gathered to gether seriously"	
procreacion	EC. Pref.	I (1)
	"procreacion and frute of his body"	
6		
propise	G. I.iv.19.	I (4)
	"propise or apte"	
7		
pursenettes	K. 36.	I (4)
	"hayes and pursenettes"	
recant	Dict. Ded.	I (1)
	"recant and forsake"	
*receptories	Dict. Pref.	I (2) a
	"vesselles or deceptories"	
8		
*reprocheable	G. III.ii.197.	I (2) b
	"reprocheable or blasphemous"	
**residence	CH. 61b.	I (3) a
	"residence or botome"	
*sacietie	G. III.xxii.263.	I (2) b
	"sacietie or fulnesse"	
*saltation	G. I.xx.89.	I (2) b
	"daunsinge or saltation"	

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6 Became obsolete after 1650. Though it was probably rare at Elyot's time, he uses it frequently, always in this couplet.

7 Obsolete late in seventeenth century. Cf. hayes.

8 Both members here are new. See blasphemous.





sences	K. 55.	I (1)
	"sences or wittes"	
**singularitie	G. III.iii.202.	I (3) b
	"singularitie or preeminence"	
9		
sluggardy	K. 75.	I (4)
	"sluggardy <u>and</u> idelnes"	
10		
*squynances	CH. 62b.	I (2) a
	"squynances or quinces in the throthe"	
11		
timorositie	G III.viii.225.	I (4)
	"Timorositie or feare"	
undeclared	G. I.xv.70.	I (1)
	"undeclared or hidde"	

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9 Became obsolete in 1606.

10 See section referred to for the various forms of this word.

11 Became obsolete in 1647.



## II (2)

Following is a complete list of the passages in which Elyot explains or comments upon words. They vary considerably in length and importance; the limit has been extended on one side to include every explanation which is more formal than a mere double expression (cases where Latin words are briefly introduced as such, and the very short comments of other sorts), and on the other to include long discussions of terms or qualities — in fine, to take in everything of linguistic significance. Immediately after each word is some comment as to its introduction into English. Roman and Arabic numerals and letters refer to Section I of this Appendix.

abstinence Known since 1382 (Wyclif)  
 "Abstinence is wherby a man refrayneth from any thinge, which he may lefully take, for a better purpose."  
 G. III.xvii.246.

acumen I (2) a  
 "by whiche tyme the more parte of that age is spente, wherin is the chiefe sharpnesse of witte called in latine acumen, and also than approacheth the stubborne age ..." G. I.xv.71.

Adagia Strictly Latin  
 "prouerbes, called Adagia ..." Dict., 1545, Pref.

Ad Judices Strictly Latin  
 "he /Alexander/ neuer exercised any other play or game, but only one, where in was a similitude of iustice, and therefore it was called in latine Ad Judices, whiche is in englysshe to the iuges."  
 G. I.xxvii.111.

adulte I (2) a  
 "suche persones beinge nowe adulte, that is to saye, passed theyr childehode as well in maners as in yeres, ..." G. II.i.116.

Affranus Latin quoted and translated  
 "Usus me genuit, mater peperit memoria.  
 Sophiam me Graii vocant, vos Sapientiam.



"Whiche in englysshe may be in this wyse translated:

Memorye hyght my mother, my father experience.  
Grekes calle me Sophi, but ye name me Sapience."  
G. III.xxiii.274.

agreablenesse I(2)a

"agreablenesse, or (as I mought saye) the unitie  
of our two appetites." G. II.xii.171.

Alteres

"laborynge with poyses made of leadde or other  
metall, called in latine Alteres." G. I.xvi.73.

Amicitia

Strictly Latin

"frendship, called in latine Amicitia." G. II.xi.  
161.

"loue, called in latin Amor, wherof Amicitia com-  
meth, named in englisshe frendshippe or amitie."  
G. II.xi.162.

Amor

Strictly Latin

"loue, called in latin Amor, ..." G. II.xi.162.

Archa federis

Strictly Latin

"the holy shrine that was called Archa federis."  
G. I.xi.48.

Aristocratia

Strictly Latin

"rule was alway /in Greece's most "tollerable"  
governments/ permitted to them whiche excelled in  
vertue, and was in the greke tonge called Aris-  
tocratia, in latin Optimorum Potentia, in englisshe  
the rule of men of best disposition." G. I.ii.7.

Assentatours

I (2) a

"Other there be, whiche in a more honest terme  
may be called Assentatours or folowers, which do  
awayte diligently what is the fourme of the speche  
and gesture of their maister, and also other his  
maners, and facion of germentes, and to the imi-  
tation and resemblaunce therof they applie their  
studie." G. II.xiv.190.

Audacitie

I (3) b

"I name that Audacitie whiche is an excessife  
and inordinate truste to escape all daungers, and  
causeth a man to do suche actes as are nat to be  
ieoparded." G. III.viii.225.



beau clerke                      These words were quite familiar in printed English from the twelfth century.

"Henry the first, ...was openly called Henry beau clerke, whiche is in englysshe, fayre clerke, and is yet at this day so named. G. I.xii.49-50.

benignitas                      Strictly Latin

"And that promptitude or redinesse in employinge that benefite was than named in englishe gentillesse, as it was in latine benignitas, and in other tonges after a semblable signification." G. II.iv.126.

blenchars                      I (2) a

"the goode husbnde ... setteth up cloughtes or thredes whiche some call shailes, some blenchars, or other like shewes, to feare away byrdes." G. I.xxiii.99.

braule                          The word was already in the language. Here Elyot is explaining his use of it in a transferred sense.

"the seconde motion, ... may be signified celeritie and slownesse: whiche two, all be it they seme to discorde in their effectes and naturall properties: and therefore they may be well resembled to the braule in daunsynge (for in our englyshe tonge we way men do braule, whan betwene them is altercation in wordis), yet of them two springeth an excellent vertue where unto we lacke a name in englyshe." G. I.xxii.97.

Bursa pastoris                  Strictly Latin

"the herbe called Bursa pastoris." CH. 63b.

Calumnia                      Strictly Latin

Calumny was first used in English in 1564 (Froude).

"this monstre is called in englysshe Detraction, in latine Calumnia." G. III.xxvii.288.

Campus Martius                  Strictly Latin

"whiche was called Marces felde, in latine Campus Martius." G. I.xvii.75.

Candidus                      Strictly a Latin name interpreted to English readers.

"Candidus, whiche maie be interpreted, benigne or gentill." DGW. Argument.





- Caninius                      A Latin name interpreted  
"Caninius, like a curre, at womens condicions is  
alway barkyng." DGW. Argument.
- carnal affection              Familiar words in English; Elyot is  
here explaining the sense in which  
he uses them  
"carnal affection, called (by the folowars therof)  
loue."
- cautherization              I (2) b  
"this disease requireth sharp medicines ... or  
perchance cautherization, that is to say, that  
the place corrupted be skorched with a hotte bourn-  
ynge yron." K. 70.
- celeritie                      Elyot explains a less familiar word  
by one better known.  
"celeritie, comunely called spedinesse." G. I.xxii.  
98-9.
- Chaos                          I (3) a  
"Chaos: whiche of some is expounde a confuse mix-  
ture." G. I.1.3.
- Cinici                          Strictly Latin  
Cynic came 1547-64 (Baldwin)  
"Demetrius, whiche was of that secte, that for as  
moshe as they abandoned all shamfastnes in their  
wordes and actes, they were called Cinici, in eng-  
lisshe doggishe." G. I.xx.91.
- Clementia-                      Strictly Latin  
Clemency came in 1553 (Queen  
Mary's Proclamation in Strype's  
Eccl. Mem.).  
"mercy is ... a temperaunce of the mynde of hym  
that hath powar to be auenged, and it is called in  
latine Clementia, and is alway ioyned with reason."  
G. II.vii.145.
- comentarie                      I (2) a  
"out of a comentarie, that is to say, that he had  
before provided and writen, to the intente that he  
wolde speke no more ne lesse than he had purposed."  
G. II.ii.124.
- Chronographie                  I (2) b  
"computacion of tyme call Chronographie."  
Dict., 1545, Pref.



Conciones

I (2) a

"the counsayles and exhortation of capitaines,  
whiche be called Conciones." G. I.xi.46.

congruite

A technical word employed in a  
manner more stylistic than linguistic.

"so that we may beholde diuers yonge gentill men,  
who in their infancie and childehode were wondred  
at for their aptness to lerning and prompt speak-  
inge of elegant latine, whiche nowe, beinge men,  
nat onely haue forgotten their congruite, (as is  
the commune worde) ..." G. I.xiii.54.

coniured

A familiar word

"desired hym and (as I mought saye) coniured him."  
G. II.xii.169.

consolidate

I (2) b

"whereby knowlege is ratified, and (as I mought  
saye) consolidate." G. III.xxvi.285.

Constitutio

Strictly Latin

"a contention, wherof may ryse a question to be  
argued, and that of Tulli is called constitutio,  
and of Quintillian Status causae." G. I.xiv.65.

Consultation

A familiar word

"This thinge that is called Consultation is the  
generall denomination of the acte wherin men do  
deuise together and reason what is to be done."  
G. III.xxviii.291.

Continence

A familiar word. Elyot enjoys  
these attempts at defining. Aristotle  
considered abstinence and continence  
one and the same virtue; Elyot takes  
the former as "abandoning material  
possessions" and the latter as "for-  
bearing unlawful company of women".<sup>1</sup>

"Shamfastnes ioyned to Appetite of generation mak-  
eth Continence, whiche is a meane betwene Chastitie  
and inordinate luste." G. I.xxi.95.

"Continence is a certue whiche kepeth the plessant  
appetite of ~~man~~ under the yoke of reason." G. III.  
xvii.246.

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1 Cf. abstinence. Concerning these two words Elyot  
writes: "Aristotle in his Ethikes, making them bothe but



Copiam Verborum et Rerum Latin title, translated  
 "whiche he /Erasmus/ calleth Copiam Verborum et Rerum, that is to say, plentie of wordes and maters."  
 G. I.xi.42.

Copie I (2) b  
 "attaine plentie of the tonges called Copia ..."  
 G. I.x.36.

Cordax I (2) a  
 "dissolute motions and wanton countenaunces in that whiche was called Cordax, and pertained to comedies, wherin men of base hauiour only daunsed."  
 G. I.xx.93.

corroborate I (2) b  
 "where I saye preserued, I intende corroborate and defended againe anoiaunces." G. III.vii.223.

cosmographie A familiar word. Elyot was thinking of it as hardly naturalized.  
 "cosmographie, called in englisshe the discription of the worlde." G. I.viii.30.

cunctator I (2) b  
 "he /Quintus Fabius/ is often tymes called of them /the Romans/ Fabius cunctator, that is to saye the tariah or delayer." G. I.xxiv.102.

cuppynge I (1)  
 CH. 55a.

Curetes Strictly Latin  
 "Curetes, (whiche were men of armes in that coun- tray)." G. I.xx.87.

Cursor Strictly Latin, though appearing untranslated in English publications from 1300.  
 "one of the mooste noble capitaynes of all the Romanes toke his name of rennyng, and was called Papirius Cursor, which is in englisshe, Papirius the renner." G. I.xvii.74.

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(1 continued) one, describeth them under the name of continence sayenge, He that is continent, for as moche as he knoweth that couaitous desire be euill, he dothe abandone them, reason persuadynge hym. For this tyme I take Abstinence for the wilfull abandoninge of money, possessions, or other thinge semblable; Continence the on<sup>e</sup> - ly forberynge the unlefull company of women." G. III.xvii.  
 246-7.



De Officiis Strictly Latin  
"it may be sayde in this fourme: 'Of the dueties  
and maners appertaynyng to men.'" G. I.xi.47.

De Sanitate tuenda Strictly Latin  
"the boke of Galene, of the gouernance of helth,  
called in latine De Sanitate tuenda. G. I.xvi.73.

Democratia Strictly Greek and Latin  
"This maner of gouernaunce /equality of estate  
among the people/ was called in greke Democratia,  
in latin Popularis potentia, in englisshe the rule  
of the comminaltie." G. I.ii.7.

Diaphoretice I (2) b.  
"unctions with oyles and oyntementes, called Dia-  
phoretice." CH. 61b.

Dictator Long familiar. This is a good ex-  
ample of the extremeness and nicety  
of Elyot's Latinity.  
"one soueraine and chiefe of all other, whom they  
/the Romans/ named Dictator, as it were commander."  
G. I.ii.13.

Diorthotice I (2) b  
A kind of justice "named in Greeke Diorthotice,  
whiche is in englysshe correctiue." G. III.i.196.

discretio Strictly Latin  
"Here with wolde be conioyned, or rather mixte  
with it, the vertue called Modestie, whiche by Tulli  
is defined to be the knowlege of oportunitie of thinges  
to be done or spoken, in appoyntyng and setting them  
in tyme or place to them conuenient and propre. Where-  
fore it semeth to be moche like to that whiche men  
communely call discretion. Al be it discretio in lat-  
ine signifieth Separation, wherein it is more like  
to Elestion; but as it is communely used, it is nat  
only like to Modestie, but it is the selfe Modestie.  
For he that forbereth to speake, all though he can  
do it bothe wisely and eloquently, by cause neither  
in the time nor in the herers he findethe oportun-  
itie, so that no frute may succede of his speche,  
he therefore is vulgarly called a discrete persone.  
Semblably they name him discrete, that punissheth an  
offendour lasse than his merites do require, hauyng  
regarde to the awikenes of his persone, or to the  
aptnesse of his amendement. So do they in the ver-  
tue called Liberalitie, where in gyuyng, is had con-





sideration as well of the condition and necessite of the persone that receiuethe, as of the benefite that comethe of the gyfte receyued. In euery of these thinges and their semblable is Modestie; whiche worde ant beinge knowen in the englisshe tonge, ne of al them which under stode latin, except they had radde good autours, they impropely named this ver-tue discretion." G. I.xxv.106-7.

disposition I (1)

"than appoynte they howe many ples maye be made for euery parte, and in what formalitie they shulde be sette, whiche is the seconde parte of Rhetorike, called disposition, wherin they do moche approche unto Rhetorike." G. I.xiv.65.

Distillations I (3) b

"Distillations called rewmes or poses." G. III.xxii.263.

Diui Strictly Latin

"calling them Diui, whiche worde representeth a signification of diuinitie." G. I.viii.32.

Elegiae Strictly Latin

"lasciuious poetes that wrate epistles and ditties of loue, some called in latine Elegiae and some Epi-grammata, is nothyng contayned but incitation to lech-ery." G. I.xiii.58.

Encyclopedia I (2) a

"all maner of lernyng: whiche of some is called the worlde of science, of other the circle of doctrine, whiche is in one worde of greke Encyclopedia." G. I.xiii.56.

Enopliae Strictly Latin

"Also the fourme of bataile and fightyng in armure was expressed in those daunsis which were called Enopliae." G. I.xx.93.

Epigrammata Strictly Latin [See Elegiae]

Epitoma Strictly Latin

"The epistles of saint Paule, saint Peter, saynt John, saynt James, and Judas the apostles do contayne counsaile and aduertisements in the fourme of or-ations, resiting diuers places as well out of the olde testament as out of the gospels as it were an abbreuiate, called of the grekes and latines, Epitoma." G. III.xxv.282.



equabilite I (2) a  
"There is also moderation in tolleration of fortune of euerye sorte, whiche of Tulli is called equabilite, whiche is, whan there semeth to be alwaye one visage and countenance neuer changed nor for prosperitie nor for aduersite." G. III. xxi. 259.

Eugenia Strictly Greek  
"And for the goodnesse that proceded of suche generation the state of them was called in greke Eugenia, whiche signifieth good kinde or lignage, but in a more briebe maner it was after called nobilitie, and the persones noble, whiche signifieth excellent, and in the analogie or signification it is more ample than gentill, for it containeth as well all that whiche is in gentillesse, as also the honour or dignitie therefore receiued, whiche be so annexed the one to the other that they can nat be seporate." G. II. iv. 127.

Eumelia Greek bodily  
"as the maiestie of princes was shewed in that daunse whiche was named Eumelis, and belonged to tragedies." G. I. xx. 93.

Euangelistes A familiar word  
"bokes of the Euangelistes, vulgarely called the gospelles." G. III. xxv. 282.

execucion A familiar word  
"In selfe doing, or to speke it more clenly, in execution." Pas. Pl.

Exordium I (2) a  
"onely they [the lawyers] lacke pleasaunt fourme of begynnyng, called in latine Exordium." G. I. xiv. 66.

experience Familiar. Here we have a nice distinction and definition.  
"The other experience whiche is in our propre persones and is of some men called practise." G. III. xxvi. 284.

fauni Strictly Latin  
"those bestes which be called satiri, fauni, hippocentauri, and diuers other, which be founden in Affrike." K. 26.

fidelitie Unusual word, which had, however, been used in English.



"And to the imitation of latyne it /"That whiche in latyn is called Fides/ is often called fidelitie."  
/See further under Fides/. G. III.vi.211.

Fides

Strictly Latin

"That whiche in latyne is called Fides, is a parte of iustice and may diuersely be interpreted, and yet finally it tendeth to one purpose in effecte. Some tyme it may be called faythe, some tyme credence, other whyles truste. Also in a frenche terme it is named loyaltie. And to the imitation of latyne it is often called fidelitie. All whiche wordes, if they be intierly and (as I mought saye) exactly understanden, shall appere to a studious reder to signifie one vertue or qualitie, all though they seme to haue some diuersitie. As beleuyng the precepted and promise of god it si called faythe. In contractes betwene man and man it is comunely called credence. Betwene persones of equall astate or condition it is maned truste. For the subiecte or seruauant to his souerayne or maister it is proprely named fidelitie, and is a frenche temre loyaltie." G. III.vi.211.

Fortis

Strictly Latin

"a man that is valiaunt, called in latyne Fortis." G. III.viii.225.

frugalitie

I (2) b

"frugalitie, whiche is a sobrenesse or moderation in liuinge." G. II.xi.163.

Later Elyot uses this word to explain sobriety:  
"sobrietie, or, in a more general temme, frugalite." G. III.xxii.262.

hierarches

I (2) b

"Fyrst in his heuenly ministres, whom, as the church affirmeth, he hath constituted to be in diuers degrees called hierarches." G. I.1.3.

hippocentauri

Latin /See fauni/

Historeo

Greek bodily

"Firste it is to be noted that it is a greke name, and commeth of a worde or verbe in greke Historeo, whiche dothe signifie to knowe, to se, to enserche, to enquire, to here, to lerne, to tell, or expounde, unto other." G. III.xxv.281.

Hormus

Latin or Greek bodily



"Also there was a kynde of daunsinge called Hormus, of all the other moste lyke to that whiche is at this time used." G. I.xx.93.

Ideae Strictly Greek  
"wonderfull figures, or, as the grekes do calle them, Ideae, of vertues and noble qualities." G. I.xxii.96.

impenitrable I (3) a  
"were the thing neuer so difficile (or as who saye the impenitrable." G. I.xxiii.100.

Industrie I (3) b  
"Industrie hath nat ben so longe tyme used in the englisshe tonge as Prouidence; wherfore it is more straunge, and requireth the more plaine exposition. It is a qualitie procedyng of witte and experience, by the whiche a man perceyueth quickly, inuenteth fresshly, and counsayleth spedily. Wherfore they that be called Industrious, do moste craftily and depely understande in all affaires what is expedient, and by what meanes and wayes they may sonest exploite them. And those thinges in whome other men trauayle, a person in dustrious lightly and with facilitie spedeth, and fyndeth newe wayes and meanes to bring to effect that he desireth." G. I.xxiii.100Q

ingratitude Familiar word  
"The moste damnable vice and moste agayne iustice, in myne oppinion, is ingratitude, commenly called unkyndnesse." G. II.xiii.186.

Intellectus Strictly Latin  
"to the augmentation of understandyng, called in latine Intellectus et mens." G. I.xiii.61.  
  
"This moste pure parte of the soule, and (as Aristotle sayeth) diuine, impassible, and incorruptible is named in latine Intellectus, whereunto I can fynde no propre englysshe but understandyng. For intelligence, whiche commeth of Intelligentia, is the perceuyng of that whiche is fyrst conceyued by understandyng, called Intellectus. Also intelligence is nowe used for an elegant worde where there is mutuall treaties or appoyntementes, wyther by letters or message, specially concernyng warres, or like other great affaires betwene princes or noble men. Wherfore I wyll use this worde understandyng for Intellectus, untill some other more propre englysshe word may be founden and brought in custome." G. III.xxiv.277.





"understandyng, called in latine Intellectus and Mens." G. III.xxiv.278.

Inuention

Explained because of its technical application.

"what plects on euery parte ought to be made, and howe the case maye be reasoned, whiche is the fyrste parte of Rhetorike, named Inuention." G. I.xiv.65.

ire

An old word. This explanation illustrates Elyot's Latinity and his awareness of the gap between the learned and popular vocabulary; also his eagerness to increase the latter with portions of the former.

"ire, called vulgarely wrathe." G. II.vi.136.

kebuli

I (2) b. Used here as a sort of explanation of Mirabolanes, introduced in 1530 (Palsg.)

"Mirabolanes, called kebuli condyte in India." CH. 73b.

Kersis

Persian, / See Nasturtium for quotation/

Lacochymia

Strictly Greek

"properly called in greke, Lacochymia, in latin Viciosus succus, in englysh it may be callid corrupt iuyce." CH. 53b.

loci communes

Strictly Latin

"the places wherof they shall fetche their raisons, called of Oratours loci communes." G. I.xiv.66/

Logodedali

Greek bodily

"rhetoriciens, declamatours, artificiall spekers, (named in Greeke Logodedali), or any other name then oratours." G. I.xiii.56.

loyaltie

Familiar word  
/ See Fides /.

Magistratus

Strictly Latin; magistrates was old.

Magistratis

"inferiour gouernours, hauynge respecte to theyr office or duetie, wherin is also a representation of gouernance. All be it they be named in latine Magistratus. And hereafter I intende to call them Magistratis, lackynge an other more conuenient worde in englisse." G. I.iii.16.



Magnanimitie            Anold word but yet "straunge", as Elyot says, and he wants to establish it. The word was in the language as early as 1340 (Ayen.).

"But nowe I remembre me, this worde Magnanimitie beinge yet straunge, as late borrowed out of the latyne, shall nat content all men, and specially them whome nothing contenteth out of their accustomed Mumpsimus, I will aduenture to put for Magnanimitie a worde more familiar, callynge it good courage, whiche, hauynge respecte to the sayd definition, shall nat seme moche inconuenient." G. III.xiv.239.

mansuetude            Old word in language, but Elyot found it in rare use and hardly understood.

"For if a man haue a sadde countenance at al times, and yet not beinge meued with wrathe, nut pacient, and of moche gentillesse, they whiche wold be seme to be lerned, wil say that the man is of a great modestie; where they shulde rather saye that he were of a great mansuetude; whiche terme, beinge semblably beofre this time unknowen in our tonge, may be by the sufferance of wise men nowe receiued by custome, wherby the terme shall be made familiare." G. I.xxv.107.

/See also the passage quoted under modestie.7

Mens                            Strictly Latin. /See Intellectus7

Mesaraice                I (1)  
"in the vaynes called Mesaraice, which procedeth from the holowe parte of the lyuer." CH. 55a.

Metamophosios            Strictly Latin  
"two boke of ovid, the one called Metamophosios, whiche is as moche to saye as, chaungynge of men in to other figure or fourme." G. I.x.39.

Mirabolanes              I (1)  
"Marabolanes, called kebuli condyte in India." CH. 73b.

Modestie                I (2) b. /See discretio for the long passage immediately preceding this, which should be considered at the same time as the passage below.7



"And nowe some men do as moche abuse the worde modestie, as the other dyd discretion. For if a man haue a sadde countenance at all times, and yet not beinge moued with wrathe, but pacient, and of moche gentillesse, they whiche wold be sene to be lerned, wil say that the man is of a great modestie; where they shulde rather saye that he were of a great mansuetude; which terme, beinge semblably before this time unknowne in our tonge, may be by the sufferance of wise men nowe receiued by custome, whereby the terme shall be made familiare. That lyke as the Romanes translated the wisdomes of Grecia in to their citie, we amy, if we liste, bringe the lernynges and wisdomes of them both in to this realme of Englande, by the translation of their warkes; sens lyke entreprise hath ben taken by frenche men, Italions, and Germanes, to our no litle reproche for our negligence and slouth. G. I.xxv.107.

Motherwoort                      Very common word. This passage illustrates only Elyot's learning and Latinity. The actual Latin name, which he fails to give, is "Motherwoort whiche inlatyne beareth hir Green Arthenisia of Laria name." CH. (1541) Proh.

Musa                              Latin and Greek bodily  
"as by olde autours a man may aggregate a definition, that whiche is called in greke and latyne Musa, is that parte of the soule that induceth and moueth a man to serche for knowlege in the whiche motion is a secrete and inexplicable delectation." G. III. xxiii.272.

Nasturtium                      Latin. First used as an English word in 1570 (Foxe).  
"they the children of the Persians toke with them for their sistenaunce but onely breed and herbes, called Kersis, in latine Nasturtium." G. I.xviii.80.

Nitrum                              Latin  
"called in latyn Nitrum." CH. 76b.

Nosce te ipsum                  Latin  
"The wordes be these in latin, Nosce te Ipsum, whiche is in englysshe, know thy selfe." G. III.iii.202.

obsessed                          I (3) b  
"Alexander beinge<sup>3</sup> (as I mought say) obsessed." G. II.vi.137.



obstinacie Simply a definition. The word is old.  
"Obstinacie is an affection immoueable, fixed to wille, abandonyng reason, whiche is ingendred of pryde, that is to saye, whan a man estemeth so moche hym selfe aboue any other, that he reputeth his owne witte onely to be in perfection, and contemneth all other counsayle." G. III.xv.242.

Oeconomice Greek bodily. Economic came in 1592.  
"In the Institution of Household Keeping called Oecon - omice, Aristotle writeth in this wise." DGW. 225.

Omotimi Greek bodily  
"the nobles, whiche also mought be called Peeres, by the signification of the greeke worde, wherin they were called, Omotimi." G. I.xviii.80.

Optimorum Potentia Latin [See Aristocratia]

Paedia Cyri Familiar word  
"Paedia Cyri whiche may be interpreted the childehode or discipline of Cyrus." G. I.xi.45.

Peeres Familiar word [See Omotimi]

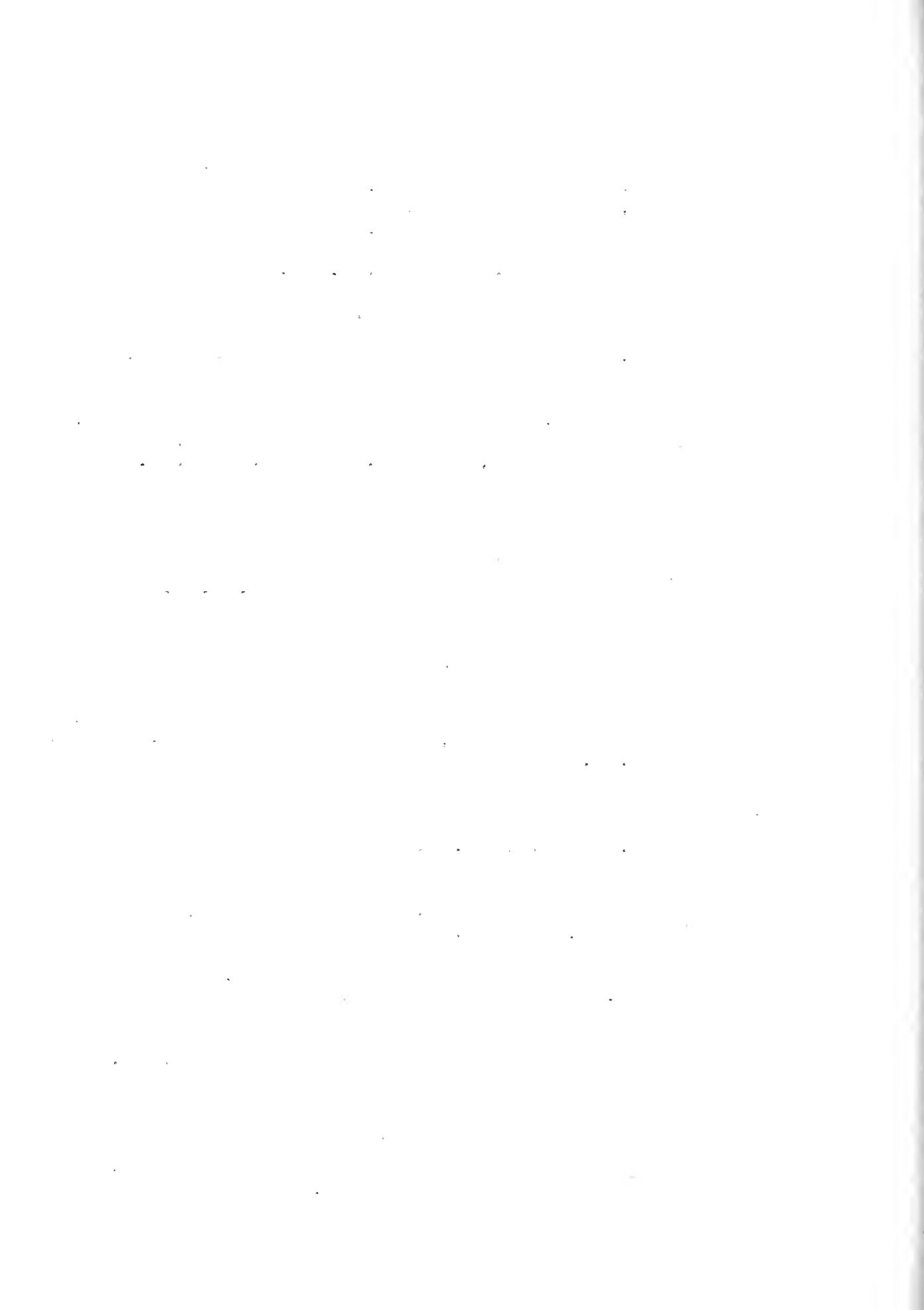
Persepolis Elyot's dry display of his knowledge of Greek.  
"there was in the realme of Persis but one citie, whiche as I suppose, was called Persepolis." G. I.xviii.80.

Phera Greek bodily  
"the great wore [bore] whiche the grekes called Phera." G. I.xviii.82.

phrase I (1)  
"forme of speakyng ... called in greeke, and also in latine, Phrasis." DP. Proh.  
"significacion or fourme of speakyng, called a phrase." Dict. (1545) Proh.

phthiriasis I (2) b  
"the long sychnes called phthiriasis." K. 68.

Plebs Latin. This word was used as English in 1647 by G. Daniel — meaning: 'populace, mob'.  
"Plebs in englisshe is called the communaltie, which signifieth only the multitude, wherin be containned the base and vulgare inhabitantes not auanced to any





honour or dignite, whiche is also used in our dayly communication; for in the citie of London and other cities they that be none aldermen or sheriffes be called comuners: And in the countrey, at a cessions or other assembly, if no gentyl men be there at, the sayenge is that there was none but the communalte, whiche proueth in myn oppinion that Plebs in latine is in englisshe communalte and Plebei be comuners. And consequently there may appere lyke diuersitie to be in englisshe betwene a publike weale and a commune weale, as shuld be in latin betwene Res publica and Res plebeia." G. I.i.2.

plenitude I (3) a  
"plenitude, callyd fulnesse." CH. 61a.

Plenitudo Well known before Elyot, even in English usage. /See plenitude/

Plethora Greek bodily. Came into English in 1541 (R. Copland). /See plenitude/

Popularis potentia Latin bodily. /See Democratia/

Populus Latin  
"As I haue sayde, publike toke his begynnyng of people: whiche in latin is Populus, in whiche worde is conteyned all the inhabitantes of a realme or citie, of what astate or condition so euer they be." G. I.1.2.

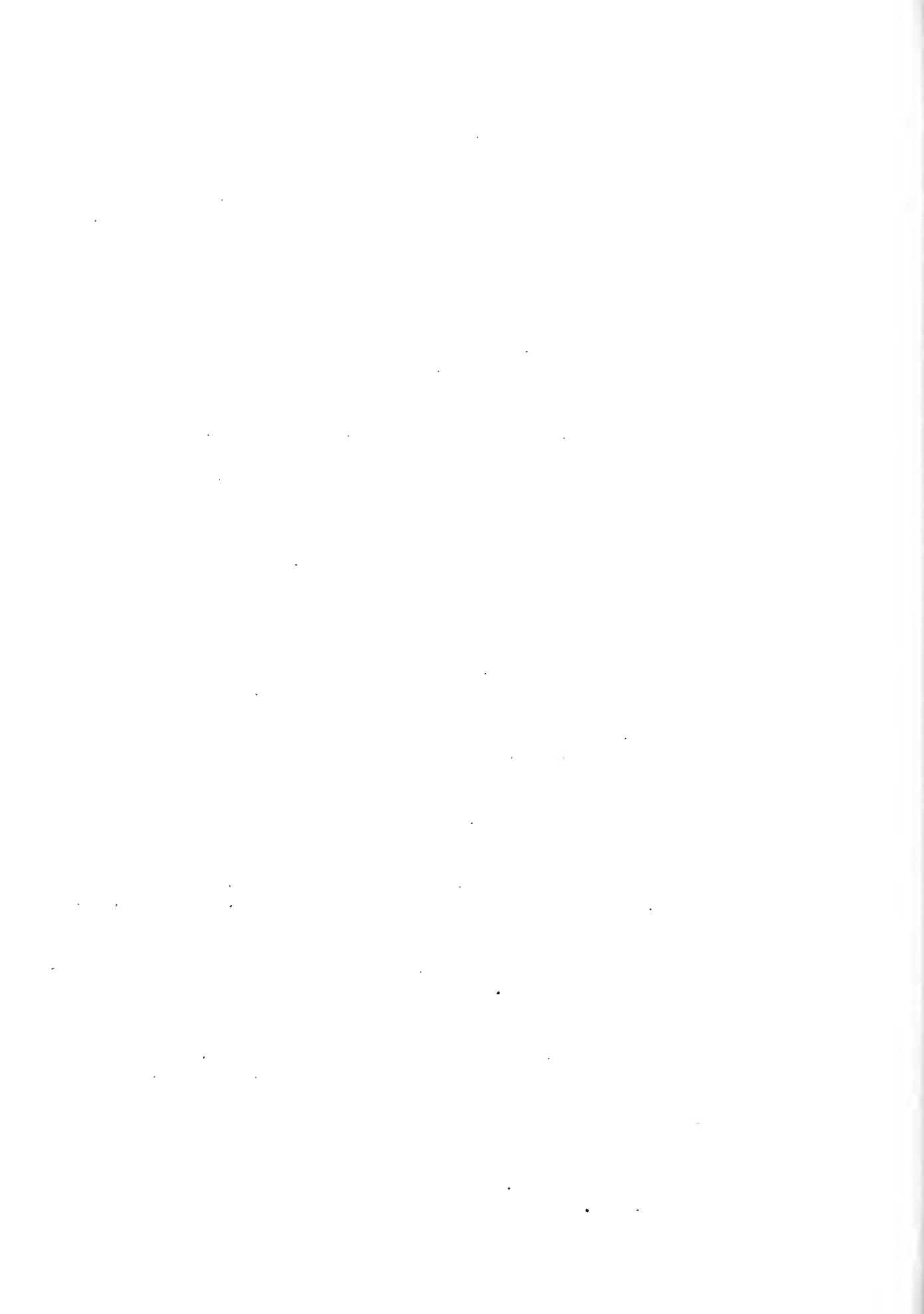
porpheri Greek  
"a delicate stone, called porpheri." G. II.v.135.

Pythagoriens I (2) b  
"Pitheas and Damon, two Pythagoriens, that is to say, students of Pythagoras lerninge." G. II.xi.165.

Regimen sanitatis Latin  
"Gouernance of health, in latine Regimen sanitatis." CH. (1541) Proh.

reprinse I (2) b  
"a reprinse, whiche is one mouing only, puttynge backe the ryght fote to his felowe." G. I.xxiv.101.

Repulse I (2) b  
"Surely this Repulse or (as they vulgarly speke) puttynge backe from promotion, is no little payne or discomforte, but it may be with stande." G. III. xiii.237.



Respublica

Latin

"In the latin tonge it is called Respublica, of the whiche the word Res hath diuers significations, and dothe nat only betoken that, that is called a thyng, which is distincte from a persone, but also signifieth astate, condition, substance, and profite. In our olde vulgare, profite is called weale. And it is called a welthy contraye wherin is all thyng that is profitable. And he is a welthy man that is riche in money and substance. Publike (as Varro saith) is diriued of people, whiche in latin is called Populus, wherfore hit semth that men haue ben longe abused in calling Rempubicam a commune weale. And they which do suppose it so to be called for that, that euery thinge be to all men in commune, without discrepance of any astate or condition, be thereto moued more by sensualite than by any good reason or inclination to humanite. And that shall some appere unto them that wyll be satisfied either with autorite or with naturall ordre and example." G. I.i.2.

Rex pacificus

Latin bodily

"Wherfore he /King Salomon /Sic/ is named in scripture Rex pacificus, whiche is in englysshe the peasible kinge." G. III.xxiii.270.

rythmi

Greek bodily

"More ouer without musike gramer may nat be perfecte; for as moche as therin muste be spoken of metres and harmonies, called rythmi in greke." G. I.xv.70.

sacietie

I (2) b

"The dyner moderate, that is to say, lasse than sacietie or fulness of bealy." CH. (1541) 40b.

Salii

Latin

"Salii, which in to englisshe may be translated daunsers." G. I.xx.91.

Sapientes

Latin

"the seuen auncient Greekes called in latin Sapientes, in englysshe sages or wise men." G. III.iii.202.

satiri

Latin strictly . /See fauni/

scarifieng

I (3) b

"scarifieng called cuppynge." CH. 55a.  
/Cf. cuppynge/



scrupulously I.(2) b.

"Moste diligently, and as I mought say, most  
scrupulously to be obserued." G. I.xiii.53.

Seuerus Latin

"Alexander, emperour of Rome, for his grauitie  
called Seuerus." G. I.xxvii.111.

"emperour Alexander, for his grauitie called  
Seuerus." G. II. 1.119.

"emperour Alexander, for his grauitie called  
Seuerus." G. III.iii.203.

"Alexander also, emperour, for his incomparable  
grauitie called Seuerus." G. III.x.232.

"moste noble Emperour Alexander, for his wysedome  
and grauity callid Seuerus." I. Pref.

Sextarius Latin

"pynte of Rome callyd Sextarius, is xx ounce mea-  
sures, the greke pynte callyd also Sextarius, and  
the hebrue pynte callid Log." Dict. fol.211a.

Seueritie I (1)

"And in this wise fiersenesse ioyned with milde-  
nesse maketh Seueritie." G. I.xxi.95.

shailes I (2) a

"cloughtes or thredes, whiche some call shailes,  
some blenchars, or other like sheres, to feare  
away burdes." G. I.xxiii.99.

societie I (2) a

"societie called company." G. III.iii.201.

spheris Known in English

"they [the four elements] be set in their places  
called spheris." G. I.1.3.

squynce I (2) a

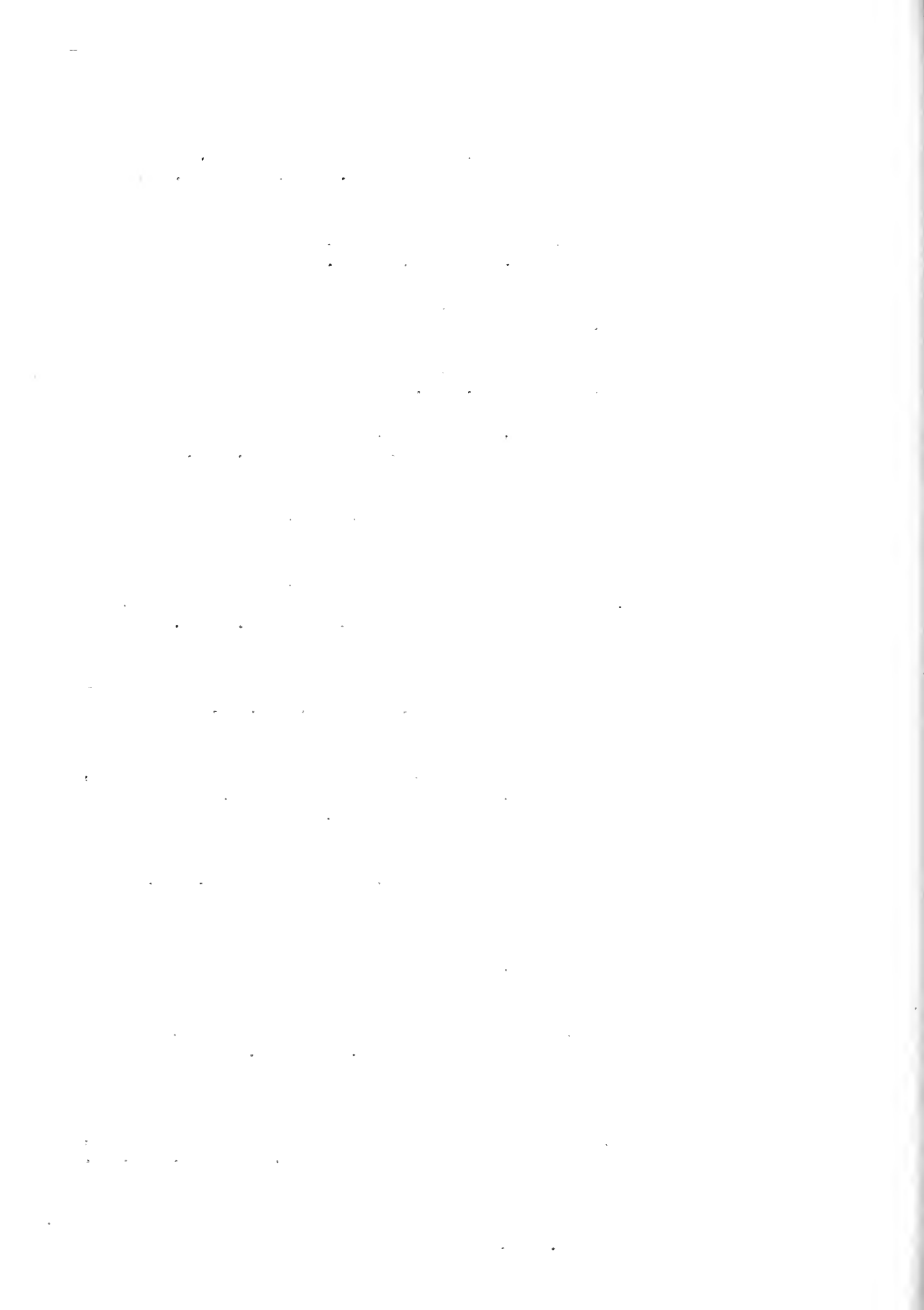
"Cynanche, a syckenes called the squynce, whiche  
is in the throte and iawes." Dict.

status causae Latin

"a contention, wherof may ryse a question to be  
argued, and that of Tulli is called constitutio,  
and of Quintillian status causae." G. I.xiv.65.

Stoici Latin

"the Philosophers called Stoici used this sentence."  
G. III.xvi.245.



Symposia Latin and Greek bodily  
"Symposia [Plato's Xenophon's, and Plutarche's],  
called bankettes in Englysshe." BS. (1539) Pröh.

tetrarchas Latin and Greek  
"the Romanes had deuided the realme of Judea to  
foure princes called tetrarchas." G. I.ii.11.

Theatre Known word  
"Nero ... wolde sit in the Theatre (an open place  
where al the people of Rome behelde solemne actis  
and playes). G. I.vii.26.

thema Latin  
"heed of a declamation called thema." G. I.xiv.65.

Tollerantia Latin  
"Paynfulnesse, named in latyne Tollerantia." G. III.  
x.230.

Tractabilitie I (2) a  
"Tractabilitie (which is to be shortly persuaded  
and meued)." G. I.xxi.95.

Tribus Latin  
"wherfore ix partes of them which they called Tri-  
bus forsoke hym, and elected Hieroboaz, late ser-  
uant to Salomen." G. I.ii.10.

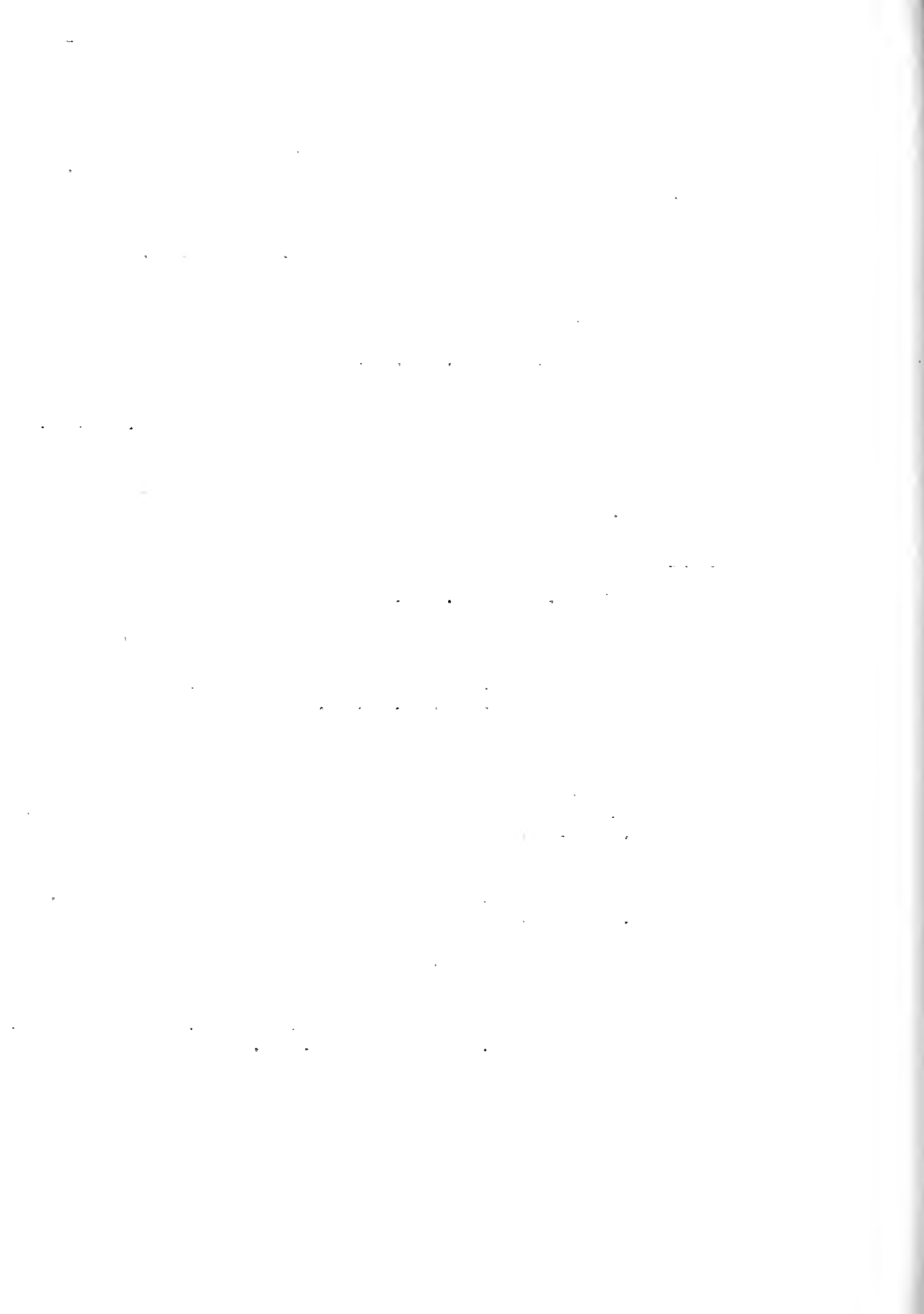
Vates Latin  
"in poetes was supposed to be science misticall and  
inspired, and therfore in latine they were called  
Vates, which worde signifyeth as moche as prophetes."  
G. I.xiii.57.

ventilate I (4)  
"before traited, and (as I mought saye) ventilate."  
G. I.xxv.105.

Viciosus succus Latin/ [See Lacochoymia]

Vir Latin  
"A man is called in latyne Vir, wherof, sayeth Tulli,  
vertue is named." G. III. ix.229.

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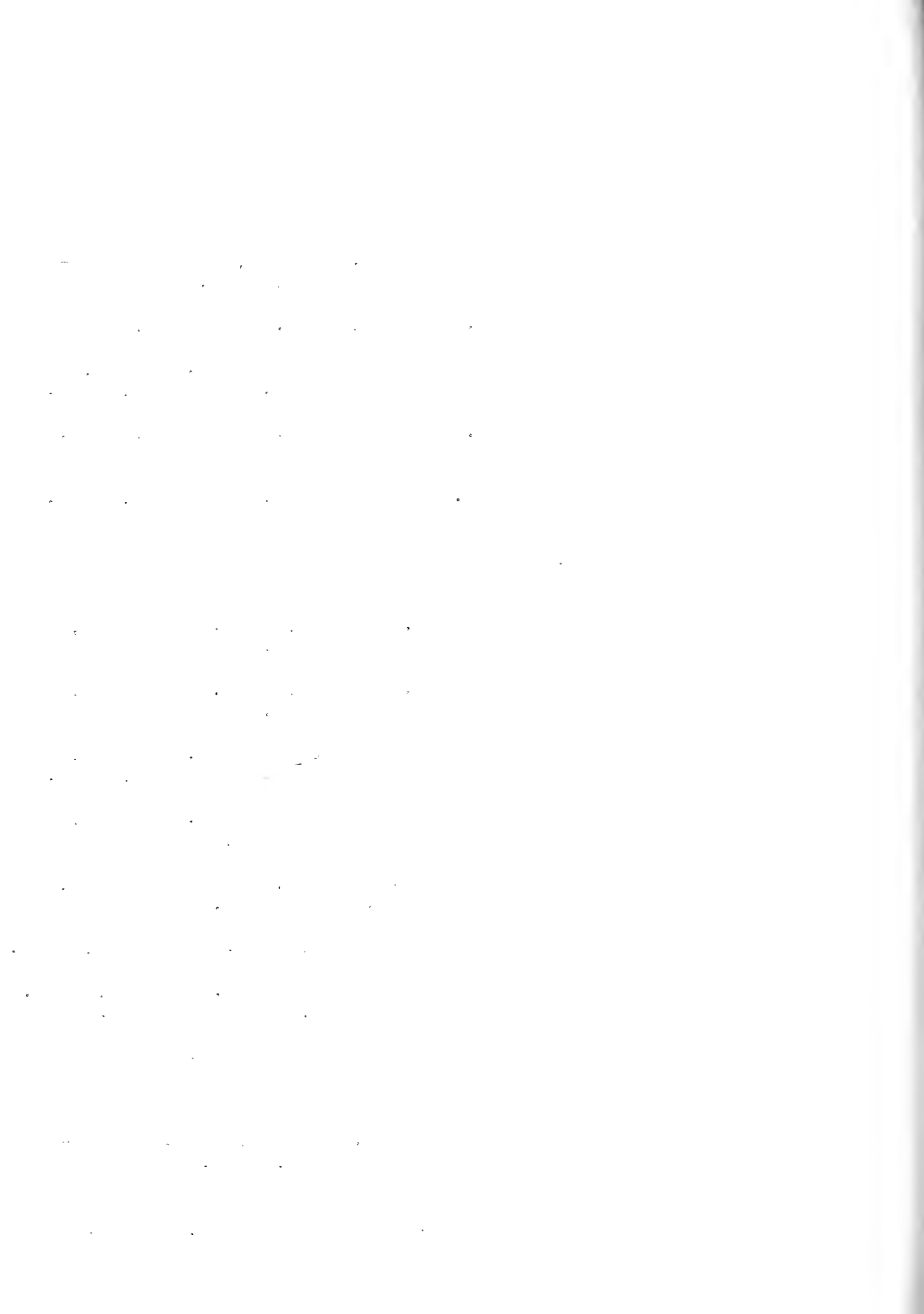
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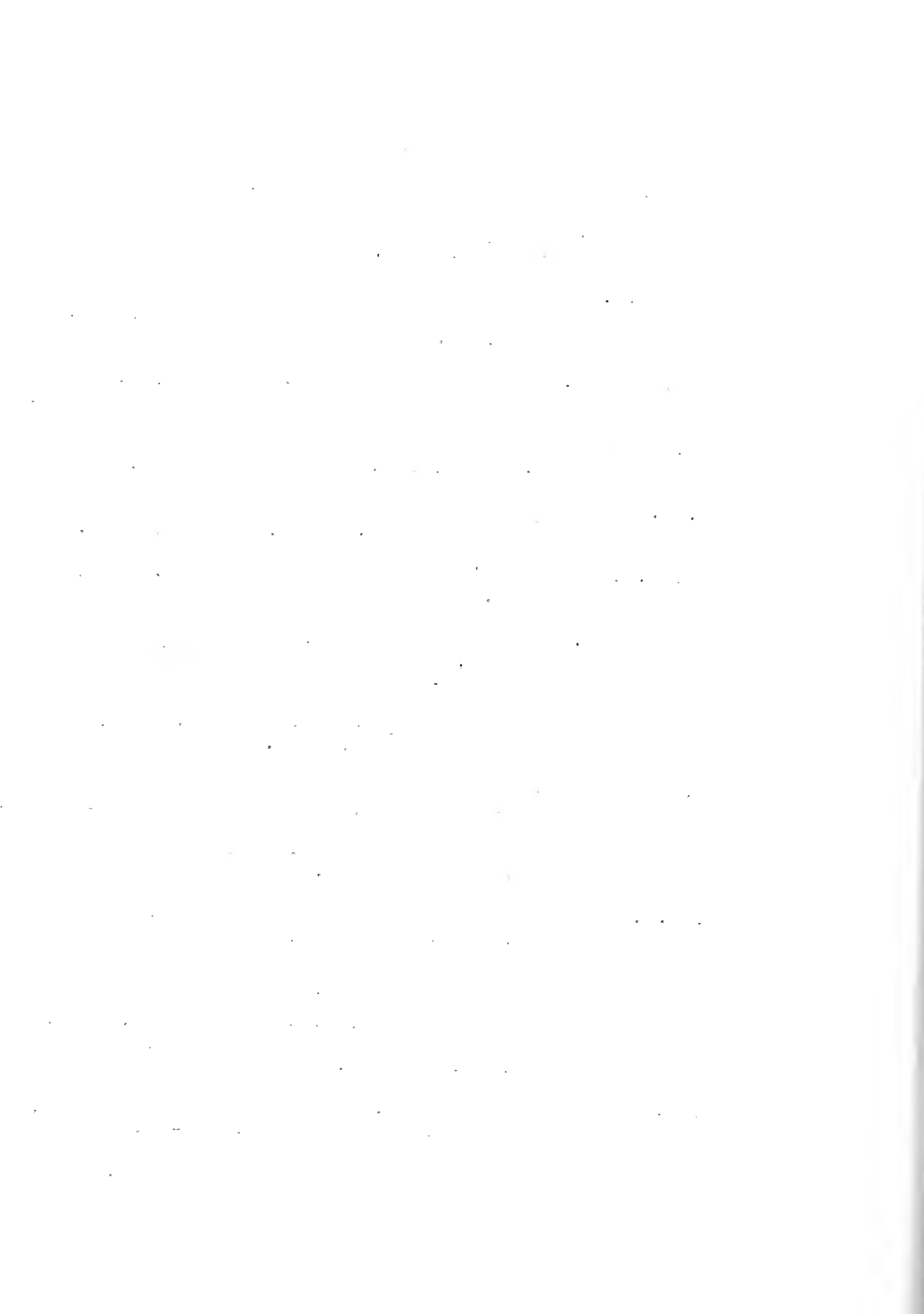
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